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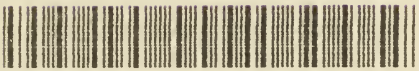

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THE

# WORKS

OF

## Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, Bart.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

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LONDON,

Printed for J. BROTHERTON and W. SEWELL, J. WHISTON, C. BATHURST, J. and F. RIVINGTON, T. PAYNE, W. JOHNSTON, S. CROWDER, B. WHITE, L. HAWES and Co. C. RIVINGTON, G. PEARCH, J. KNOX, R. BALDWIN, and the Executors of H. LINTOT and T. WOTTON.

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OF

## VOLUME THE SECOND.

# Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*'s

# First EMBASSY at the *Hague*.

## Begun Auguſt 1668.

*To the Elector of Mentz.*

Hague, Aug. 31.
SIR, N. S. 1668.

I Did not receive the honour of your highneſs's letter till ſome time after my arrival in England, with the incloſed for the king my maſter, which he received with that eſteem his majeſty always bears to what comes from your highneſs: and having promiſed me an anſwer upon my return for Holland, which has been put off from day to day, I have deferred my particular acknowledgments to your highneſs till I could value them by the honour of accompanying a letter from his majeſty. I ſend it now incloſed; and deſire your highneſs to believe, that I reſent as I ought the honour you have done me;



A l'Electeur de Mayence.

*A la Haye, le* 31.
*Monſieur, Août, S. N.* 1668.

*LA lettre dont V. A. m'a honoré, & qui eſt datée du* 14. *de Mai, ne m'a été rendue que quelques jours après mon arrivée en Angleterre; avec elle j'ay reçû l'envelopé pour le roy mon maître, que je luy ay porté, & qu'il a reçû avec les mêmes marques d'eſtime que ſa majeſté a toujours fait paroître pour tout ce qui vient de la part de V. A. le roy m'ayant promis la reponſe pour le tems de mon retour en Hollande, qui a toujours trainé de jour en jour; j'ay differé de marquer à V. A. ma reconnoiſſance en particulier, juſqu' à ce que j'euſſe l'honneur d'étre porteur d'une lettre de ſa majeſté. Je l'envoye à cette heure, & je ſupplie V. A. de croire que je reſſens comme je le dois l'honneur qu'elle*

and that I will preſerve your highneſs's letter among the greateſt marks of honour to my family; and ſhall not fail upon all occaſions to ſhew how much I ſhall cheriſh the title I pretend to with ſo much juſtice, of being, Sir, your highneſs's, *&c.*

*m'a fait, & que je conſerveray ſa lettre, & la conteray parmi les titres & les honneurs qui élevent la gloire de ma famille. Je ne laiſſeray échaper aucune occaſion de temoigner combien je cheris & cheriray toujours la qualité que je prens avec tant de juſtice de, monſieur, de V. A.* &c.

## *To my Lord Arlington.*

My Lord, Hague, Sept. 7, N. S. 1668.

SINCE my laſt I have not ſtirred out, but had the favour of ſeveral viſits in my chamber; among the reſt, one from monſieur Meerman on Wedneſday, and one of three hours from monſieur de Witt yeſterday. I fell into talk with the firſt upon the matter of the Guiney company; who ſaid my lord Holles, and, as I remember, Mr. Secretary Morris, had ſpoken of it to him before; but only given him a general relation, upon which he could not ſufficiently inform the States: that they had likewiſe mentioned ſome other parts of the marine treaty, by which the Eaſt-India company thought themſelves aggrieved, but remembered nothing particular beſides the form of paſſports, in which we might receive what ſatisfaction we pleaſed; and the better definition of what was meant by *a town inveſted.* I told him, the buſineſs of Guiney was diſtinct from any thing of the marine treaty, (though he was unwilling to underſtand it ſo;) that I was very little inſtructed in the firſt, becauſe his majeſty's commands in that point were only to procure the reference of it to commiſſioners for the propoſing rules by which both companies ſhould proceed, and thereby preventing the ſaid companies acting wholly by rules and officers of their own, which had been the firſt occaſions of the unhappy diſputes between us, and might poſſibly

prove ſo again. For the marine treaty, I told him I had yet no inſtructions upon that ſubject, but might have in a little time; and thereupon took occaſion of diſcourſing to him at large the whole buſineſs of commerce between us, and the neceſſity of giving us ſome reaſon and eaſe in thoſe matters; upon which though he ſeemed a little ſtaunch, as his complexion is, and jealous of our great growth in trade, by a more parſimonious and induſtrious genius among us of late, than had formerly been; yet I found, what I ſaid had impreſſion on him: for he parted with great profeſſions of contributing all he could towards the ſucceſs of all negotiations between us; and went that night to communicate all to monſieur de Witt, as I found by our conference next day. It began with his having peruſed my papers about the Guiney company; upon which he deſired to know if I had no other information than thoſe gave me: for by thoſe, the matter ſeemed favourable to them, by the letters of their director being particular, and with relation to time, and to the articles of the Breda treaty, by which the new ſettlements there were to be governed; whereas what concerned our pretenſions was contained only in ſome looſe examinations concerning poſſeſſion or not poſſeſſion formerly by one or the other, without any reference to the conſtitutions made by the Breda treaty, and without mentioning in any direct terms what it was we complained of, or what we deſired.

The truth is, all the papers concerning that matter, remitted to me by Mr. Secretary Morris, were only the Guiney company's petition, the examination of Mr. Thomas Criſp, captain Merbrooke, and Mr. Be'ois, with a letter and proteſt of the director of the Dutch Weſt-India company. I excuſed my being ſo little informed, upon the reaſons I had alledged to monſieur Meerman, and preſſed in the ſame manner the reference of it to commiſſioners. He allowed his majeſty's con-

ſideration of preventing the two companies proceeding by rules or executions of their own, to be very prudent and neceſſary; and that he knew the States would ſecond his majeſty's good intention in it: and that when he could find the matter of fact and right but alledged in diſtinct teſtimonies of known perſons, he doubted not but he ſhould eaſily find a compoſure for all theſe diſputes, and agree upon a conſtant reglement hereafter. And to this purpoſe he would ſend immediately to enquire among the officers of their company for any papers that may have been remitted to them from our officers to theirs in Guiney; for he could not believe but that letter and proteſt of their director had either been occaſioned by ſome precedent letters or demands from ſome officers of ours, or at leaſt followed by ſome anſwers, in which our demands and rights were aſſerted, as thoſe of the Dutch were in thoſe papers of their director. I anſwered all, by inſiſting upon commiſſioners according to my inſtruction, and argued its being a matter much more proper for ſuch to debate and determine, as underſtood the coaſts, ſituations, manner of trade in thoſe parts, former poſſeſſions, and matters of fact paſt, than for him and me, how willing ſoever we ſhould be to inform ourſelves, or to find expedients; and went ſo far upon this ſubject, that he ſeemed inclined it ſhould be ſo; at leaſt when the pretenſions were ſtated, ſo as it might appear what was to be referred to ſuch commiſſioners. But upon this he fell into the diſcourſe of what monſieur Meerman had told him, or I had formerly written to him, concerning ſome exceptions to the marine treaty; and how willing the States would be to alter the form of paſſports, when they knew how we deſired it; and if the king wiſhed any more particular definition of what ſhould be eſteemed *a town inveſted*, he did not doubt we might agree upon that too; having found me always to propoſe only what I thought reaſonable, and to agree to what

I found

I found ſo; and he was made after the ſame manner, and ſo I ſhould always find him. I eaſily perceived, that the thing he would be at, was, upon occaſion of this Guiney matter, to know at once the bottom of all we pretended, in point of regulating commerce between us, having, I preſume, heard more than was need perhaps, of all the noiſe made by the Eaſt-India company upon the ſubject of the marine treaty, or by their patrons, either out of zeal to the good of our commerce, or out of envy at the ſucceſs of ſo great a counſel and conduct of his majeſty, in which they had no hand, and upon which if we had loſt a little in trade by changing the form of the articles at Breda into a marine treaty (wherein I do not conceive how we loſt at all) yet I am ſure it was infinitely recompenſed by the neceſſity, the unexpected ſucceſs, and the great conſequences of thoſe other alliances, to which that circumſtance of the marine treaty was made, I thought, but a ſacrifice of ſmoke. And this I could not but ſay for his majeſty's ſatisfaction, and your lordſhip's vindication, with thoſe other miniſters by whoſe advice that counſel was taken and purſued, finding every day more how highly it is applauded abroad, while it is maliced by ſome, and ſo little eſteemed by others, at home; though his majeſty has reaped already from it both the whole honour of giving peace to Chriſtendom, and perhaps the only ſafety of his own kingdoms, conſidering the conjunctures in which that counſel found us.

But to return to my conference with monſieur de Witt: finding him lead me ſo induſtriouſly into a field wherein I had no intention to enter, I reſolved however to take the occaſion, and once for all to ſay all I had thought, or your lordſhip had infuſed into me, upon that ſubject. And ſo I told him plainly, that I was not yet inſtructed in that matter of our exceptions to the marine treaty, but believed I might be

in a little time; that the particulars he mentioned were complained of in the treaty itself, and other things thought to be admitted, but that I could not enter into any particulars till I had instructions; but since he gave me the occasion, I would enter once for all into the general. I discoursed over to him the common interest, and indeed necessity, of preserving perpetual the present alliances between us, especially on their side, while the dangers were so great from the ambition and power, as well as neighbourhood, of France; the great overtures would now be made us from thence to the prejudice of this alliance, and at all other times, whenever they could hope we were ready to receive them; that though I could give him no jealousy of them now, but on the contrary assure him he might be at ease on that side, and that the king would only have the honour, by it, of setting them an example of his sincerenes and constancy, which he would expect they should follow when the game begun with *them*, as it would after it ended with *him*; yet I would tell him, that France was at all times capable of making us such offers, and of giving us our present account so well, though in exchange perhaps of danger to come (in case of new revolutions) that whenever there should be in England a prince less direct, or less foreseeing than his majesty; or either a weak or corruptible ministry, I could not answer what measures we should take: that, upon this ground, I thought they could not do wiser than to root this alliance in the very hearts of the people, and current genius of the nation, and not rely wholly upon the present inclinations or judgment of his majesty, or the dispositions of the ministers; for if there were any thing that lay cross to it in the common interest or humour of the people, it would be upon all occasions breaking out to disturb it, and whenever *that* should concur with the dispositions of the prince, they would be able to make a great noise in the world.

world. I told him, that many perſons in England, either to make way for the French alliance by weakening or breaking this, or elſe perhaps to diſcredit the moſt applauded counſels of the preſent miniſtry, had made a noiſe about the marine treaty as if it had been a ruining the nation, and from thence took occaſion to infuſe into all people as far as they could, that we ſhould never find any fairneſs, or directneſs, or equality, in all we treated with the Dutch; but ſubtility, and hardſhip, and injuſtice, and, when the occaſion was, obſtinacy and injury, in all matters of commerce between us; while we gave them reaſon to believe we thought their friendſhip neceſſary, or very convenient to us. That I had, ever ſince I knew him, maintained the contrary to his majeſty, aſſured him of the ſincerity I had found in their proceedings, and been always made confidently believe by them, that his majeſty ſhould find them ever reaſonable and eaſy in what ſhould be offered in reducing matters of commerce to an equality, and to be reciprocal between us. That it was a ſmall matter, that all my credit, and perhaps fortune, lay at ſtake upon their making this good: but I was ſure it was conſiderable that the very ſafety of our alliance might at one time or other come to lie at ſtake upon it too. And therefore, for my part, I thought they could not do in the world a wiſer thing, than to give us all reaſonable ſatisfaction in theſe points, by conſenting to any reglements of commerce which might import equality, and be reciprocal between us. That any equality itſelf would be the ſame advantage to them, that a long arm againſt a ſhort would be between two men with equal ſwords; for conſidering their parſimony, induſtry, neceſſity of turning all their ſtock to trade for want of land, and multitude of people; and on the other ſide, our native luxury, want of order or application, and our extent and cheapneſs of land, and eaſe of taxes, which made people chuſe to turn their

money that way; they could never fail of advantage enough in any equality, and upon it would find the ſureſt, the moſt commodious ally, and the beſt able to protect them that they could have in the world, being without any ambition or deſigns among our neighbours, farther than to keep the balance of Chriſtendom; and yet, on the other ſide, the only power that was feared by France, and that were able, in conjunction of our fleets with theirs, to awe them, by what they might ſuffer from ſea, into ſome conſideration of what was fit for them to act at land.

During this diſcourſe, which I enlarged the moſt I could to the purpoſe, reſolving to bend all my force upon the effect of it, I found monſieur de Witt very attentive, and willing to let me go on, with marks in his countenance of reliſhing, and, as I thought, approving what I ſaid; which made me reſolve to go yet one point farther, and to the root of all that could ſpring into any jealouſies between us. I told him, it was true, that there wanted not ſome among us that would be ſo wiſe to know, that it was impoſſible for us ever to fall into any firm confidence with the States upon their preſent conſtitution, nor particularly with him, upon the prince of Orange's occaſion: that for my part, I was not at all of that mind: that though the king could not loſe the affection he had for his nephew, yet he was of opinion he could not expreſs it better than by infuſing into him the belief, that he could make himſelf no way ſo happy as in the good will of the States and truſting wholly to them in the courſe of his fortunes, and not to private factions, or foreign intrigues and applications. That his majeſty was of an opinion himſelf, that princes were not apt to do themſelves more hurt, and make themſelves leſs, any way than by affecting too much power, or ſuch as was directly contrary to the ſtomach and genius of the country which fell to their ſhare: and beſides this, I knew

knew his majeſty was ſo juſt and ſo reaſonable, that though he ſhould take kindly of the States any reſpects they ſhould ſhew his nephew, yet I did not believe he would offer that to any other king or State, which he ſhould not take well that any other ſhould offer to him; and I did not believe he would ever be put upon any ſuch deſigns by his council, or his people's inclinations. For they who looked upon the prince in a poſſibility of one day coming to be their king, and that loved a prince who grounded his power in the affections of his people and loved to rule by laws, had rather perhaps ſee the prince of Orange happy in the good will of the States, and ſuch moderate power as they ſhould think conſiſtent with their government, than of a humour that aims at any thing that might tend to ſubvert their civil conſtitutions: ſo that I ſaw nothing of danger to them upon this chapter, either from the judgment and diſpoſition of his majeſty, or the humour of the nation: but was confident, in caſe we could agree upon matters of commerce, nothing could ever intervene to break an alliance that was ſo uſeful to ourſelves, and all Chriſtendom beſides. And ſo I left it with him.

Upon this diſcourſe, monſieur de Witt with very great ſigns of ſatisfaction told me, that all I ſaid was reaſonable, that he agreed with me perfectly in it: and upon that, ſaid a great deal of the ſympathy he had ever obſerved between us, and how eaſy that would ever make any thing we ſhould fall in treaty of. That he knew from monſieur Meerman, I had been the occaſion of giving him any credit in England of an honeſt ſincere man, and he would never loſe mine upon that occaſion by giving the king cauſe to believe other of him. That he confeſſed he had often told me, that the States would ever be contented with an equality with us in point of trade; and that, provided they might know what it was we would be at, and that we propo-

ſed

ſed nothing but what was equal and reciprocal between us; he would give me his hand (as he did) that he would uſe all his endeavours to give us ſatisfaction in it; and he thought he knew the minds of the States ſo well, that he durſt almoſt promiſe it me in their names by advance, and without knowing what it was. That for any thing amiſs in the marine treaty, he did not ſee how any complaint could be made of what I had done in it; but that the Ambaſſadors at Breda ought to anſwer for that, if there were any thing ill in it, ours being but word for word the ſame with theirs, and both parties conſent being neceſſary to alter what was then proviſional, as what is now more formally eſtabliſhed. That, for the form of the paſſports, let me but bring one drawn up as we deſire it, and in terms current with the forms of their State, and it ſhall be immediately agreed to. That, for defining what towns ſhall be ſaid to be beſieged, he is very willing that ſhould be done too, ſince it imports the ſame for one as t'other: and even for any other matters that were thought neceſſary to be added to the marine treaty, ſince nothing elſe was deſired to be altered, if his majeſty would inſtruct me fully in all points, and that they proved, as I ſaid, equal and reciprocal, he would once more undertake we ſhould agree upon them, and deſired me to aſſure his majeſty ſo much; and he thought, the ſooner I was inſtructed in it, the better: but deſired that no uſe might be made of this, to encourage either the Eaſt-India company, or others, to make new exceptions or demands, but only I might be inſtructed in thoſe which had been made already: and that, I ſaid, I durſt promiſe him, for they had been already digeſted before the council. From this, he fell to diſcourſe of our alliance, and the conſiderations we had to ſtrengthen and continue it; and how much he was pleaſed with what I ſaid of the king's reſolution upon that point, of his ſhewing them an example of conſtancy,

cy, and that I could never doubt their following it. And among other things ſaid, the States had ſucked that in like milk, which was already paſſed into the very fleſh and ſubſtance of their body: and we might be the more confident of it, ſince the miniſter they employed in France, and through whoſe hands all ſuch matters muſt paſs, and be repreſented to the States by the lights he ſhould give them, was as firm and earneſt upon it as any man could be: that he knew France would try them as well as us, and would not ſay but they might poſſibly gain ſome one of the little provinces; but for Holland in particular, and the provinces in general, it was not a thing to be thought on. From this he fell to ſpeak of the prince of Orange; and ſeemed very much pleaſed with what I had ſaid on that ſubject, both of the king's diſpoſitions, and the people's humours and thoughts, eſpecially that of the king, of doing as he would be done by: he ſaid, the States intentions were to make him captain-general of their forces and admiral too, though it was not mentioned; and to this purpoſe they would already have brought him into the council of ſtate in order to fit him for thoſe charges, had it not been for ſome of the provinces that had hindered it upon pretence of more kindneſs to him, and deſigning greater matters for him. That it was indeed agreed thoſe charges were inconſiſtent with that of Stadtholder, which gave as much authority in the civil, as the others in the military part of the government. That, conſidering the ſmallneſs of their ſtate, and greatneſs of their milice, there was an end of their republic when both was in one hand. That for his part, if he had been born under a king, he could never have conſented to what his anceſtors did towards the king of Spain; but being born under a commonwealth, and ſworn to maintain it, he could conſent to nothing that ſhould deſtroy it; and he wondered how it had ſubſiſted ſo long in that danger; which

was

was to be attributed to their conſtant wars abroad, and to the great moderation of thoſe princes among whom none had thoughts of it but the laſt; nor would he ever have fallen into them without having been put upon them by the French, who had his breeding and his converſation. That, if he had lived, he would have been the ableſt of all the race; and from thence fell into commendations of this young prince's parts and diſpoſitions: and ſo this matter ended.

For the buſineſs of Spain, he was ſcandalized, as well as your Lordſhip, at the Queen's ſlight anſwer, and pleaſed with his Majeſty's letter upon it. He ſaid, the talk of Don John's coming began to renew; and that in the mean time the marquis neither anſwered upon the Swediſh ſubſidies, nor preſſed them upon the guaranty, becauſe they had refuſed to give it without the compliance of Spain in the other point. I purſued that no farther, having not yet heard from the marquis, nor from the Spaniſh ambaſſador here, upon it. The treaty between the Emperor and Sweden is not yet ratified, upon a diſagreement in the private article about money to be furniſhed them by the Emperor, who ſtands upon giving but one hundred and eleven thouſand dollars a year, upon ſome calculations made by ſome certain quota's upon the ſeveral parts of the empire; and the Swedes demanding one hundred and fifty thouſand: which would make one imagine the Spaniards had not one of their five ſenſes left, to hazard or delay, for ſuch a ſum, a treaty wherein your lordſhip will obſerve a particular clauſe, leaving room for Spain to enter into it as they pleaſe.

While I am writing, I receive this incloſed from the Swediſh envoy here, by which you will ſee how unhappily a poor ambaſſador is *embaraſsé* by the ceremonies that hinder him from ſeeing thoſe that have ſo much mind to it, and with whom he muſt have ſo much to do. What expedients I ſhall find hereafter,

I know

I know not yet, but ſhall let him know, that being *incognito* till my entry, *& ne faiſant pas l'ambaſſadeur*, if he pleaſes to come, and be content that as *incognito* I neither receive nor conduct him out of my chamber, I ſhall in it give him all the civilities he expects, as I have hitherto done, upon the ſame pretence of being yet *incognito*, to all perſons of quality that have ſeen me here. Your Lordſhip will tell me if I do well or ill; and in recompence I ſhall only tell you, that I ſhall not think I do well longer than you eſteem me what I am ſo much, your, *&c.*

*To the Count de Molina.*

Hague, Sept. 9,
My Lord, N. S. 1668.

AFter a tireſome paſſage by ſea the pleaſure of your Excellency's letter was not a little neceſſary to divert and relieve me, renewing with the Spaniſh language at leaſt the memory of my paſt happineſs at Bruſſels. I read the paper that came with it, and much eſteem the honour the marquis does me in ſtill preſerving me in his memory and favour, which I ſhall not fail myſelf of acknowledging with the firſt occaſion.

I am much pleaſed with what they tell me here, of the good condition of the army in Flanders; and that they begin, with the money they have received, to recover new life: if they have too much, I wiſh it were employed in Sweden, to

Al Sennor Molina.

La Haye, Sept. 9,
Ex^mo. Sen^r. S. N. 1668.

*SEnnor mio, deſpues de un paſſaje de mar muy enfadoſo, ne me era meneſter coſa de menor guſto que la carta de V. E. para recrearme, y con la lengua Eſpagnola refreſcar al menos la memoria de mis paſſados contentamientos de Bruſſellas. He leydo tan bien el papel adjunto con mucha eſtima de la honra que me haze el ſennor marques de no haverme olvidado ny echado menos en ſus buenas gracias, lo que le he de agadecer como devo con la primera occaſion.*

*Mi huelgo mucho di entender loque me dizen aqui delas lindas tropas que ſe hallan aora en Flandes, y que comiençan a cobrar la vida con el dinero lo que ay de ſobrado, quiſiera mucho que fueſſe en Suecia para enterar los de eſta gente en los inter-*

*eſſis.*

to bring that nation into the Spaniſh intereſt.

I pray God to preſerve your Excellency many years, and give me many occaſions of ſerving you. I kiſs your excellency's hands, *&c.*

*eſſes Eſpanoles.*

*Guarde de Dios a V. E. los annos que la deſſeo, y me de muchos occaſiones di ſervir le. Exmo. Sr. B. L. M. D. V. E. ſu mayor ſervidor.*

## *To my lord keeper.*

My Lord, Hague, Octob. 2. N. S. 1668.

I Received the honour of two from your lordſhip, of the 4th and 10th paſt, together in one packet from Mr. Williamſon, about the time of my laſt diſpatch into England, which was the reaſon of my not anſwering them the ſame day; beſides that I had written to your lordſhip a long one about another ſubject by that poſt.

For all that touches the marine treaty, I muſt refer to my lord Arlington's letters by this ordinary. As to the point of my treating envoys, I think it is better to let it reſt as it is, than for your lordſhip to move any farther in it; and be content we ſhould follow, ſince we are not at preſent of a humour to lead.

I believe I could order it ſo, as Spain and Sweden, and this State, ſhould alter the cuſtom by conſent with us; but that which I wiſhed was, that his majeſty might have ſaid ſingly, he would follow no other prince's rules but the old ones which he had uſed, and ſeemed to approve by Sir George Downing's demands, and ſo given me order at my firſt coming, to give the hand and door, as all ambaſſadors did till the French caprice changed it about eight years ago: and this I took to have been of more honour as well as advantage to his majeſty; but it ſeems I did not underſtand it right; it may be others would have underſtood it ſo too, if they had ſeen both Spain, Sweden, and theſe States, and all others except France, follow his majeſty's example,

example, which I could have held a fair wager of, and is every body's opinion here, as it is many people's, that France itſelf would have fallen in too, upon the advantage in commerce with other miniſters which would have followed it; for if I had given it, not one Reſident would have ever ſeen the French ambaſſador without it, whereas two or three of them now do both him and me. I am ſure, if France underſtand it right, they will take an occaſion to change it themſelves, and to reap the firſt profit, and all the honour as well as pleaſure, of ſeeing us all dance after them both up and down as our leaders in a country dance; and I am ſure I had as lieve be lame as do ſo; and cannot tell why his majeſty ſhould not think of being in the head both of the affairs and forms of Chriſtendom, as well as any of his neighbouring kings.

I acquainted monſieur de Witt both with the examinations, and what your lordſhip writ about the priſoners from Surinam: he is of opinion, the complaint lies ſtill on their ſide, as it did at firſt; that Captain Needham's perſon, who had firſt left my lord Willowby to come to the Dutch, and after them to my lord Willowby, made them expect nothing friendly from him; that his commiſſion was very extraordinary, and to be executed upon Indians who were their ſubjects; that he knows not what can be done farther than to ſend offenders to be both examined and puniſhed by their own prince; that if they were ill uſed by the way, the Dutch were very much to blame in that, and it is a thing he abhors (but we have yet only their own words for that) and he will enquire as far as he can into the whole matter. In the mean time, I having no inſtructions upon it, either to complain or demand, had nothing more to do than to acquaint him with it, till I ſhould receive any farther orders. I hear the ſame here which your lordſhip does there, of the marquis Caſtel-Rodrigo's intentions to paſs through

through England into Spain, which I ſhould be glad of: I believe with your lordſhip, he will have credit in the councils of Spain; and ſince you would have me think of what I judge fit to be propoſed to him, I will give you my opinion concerning our affairs with Spain, though I am likely enough to be prejudiced in it by ſo particular acquaintance with the weakneſs of their preſent conduct, and diviſion of their councils, as well as the conſequences of them: which are, want of order in their government, their armies, their revenue, and I doubt, at preſent, even of genius in their nation, which ever riſes and falls according to that of the prince or miniſtry: for, if men ſee the way to riſe is by worth and virtuous qualities, the genius of a nation will run that way, and produce great ſubjects. If they can hope to do it by vicious humours, by little arts, by warm purſuits every man of his own intereſts; the whole ſpirit runs into thoſe courſes, and perhaps the faſter, from the propenſion of our natures rather to ill than to good.

After all, I am of opinion, that our preſent intereſt, and that of all Chriſtendom beſides, in ſome meaſure, is the defence of Spain, and not only in Flanders, but in all other parts where it ſhall not be able to defend itſelf againſt the power and ambition of France; from whence alone we have all our preſent fears, and ſhall find our dangers upon any farther growth; for if a great acceſſion ſhould come to them in Navarre, Catalonia, Italy, during the Spaniſh king's life, or upon his death, as there will do in Lorrain after this old duke's life; we ſhould find them more formidable and troubleſome even in our neighbourhood; as nouriſhment taken in by one part increaſes ſtrength in all, if it be once digeſted. 'Tis true, for want of heat or ſtrength of nature, if it be not digeſted into the very ſubſtance of the body, it will grow weaker rather than ſtronger by it: as we ſee in Spain, the ſpirit began to

fail

fail by the weakneſs of their kings and miniſters. For this reaſon, and all thoſe which formerly engaged us ſo firmly to bear up France and Holland againſt the houſe of Auſtria, I think it is our common intereſt to bear up Spain now againſt France; and the more, in reſpect of their being now lower than ever the others were, by reaſon of the king's tender life, and the diſtraction like to enſue his death, if their affairs find no ſteady ſupport from their neighbours.

If we were what we have been, what we might be, and God knows why we are not, at home; I think our intereſt were to enter ſingly into a defenſive league with Spain, and might either preſerve their peace, or elſe hope to make a ſhort war, and with ſuch advantages as might countervail what our trade will ſuffer, and the Dutch grow, during the time of our being in war and they in peace. My reaſon for making in that caſe the league ſingle, is becauſe we might thereby reap alone all the advantages which Spain would be able to give for their defence, which would be great, as low as they are, not only in point of trade by their wools and logwood, but by great penſions in yearly quantities of ſalt from Sardinia and other parts, which is much beyond any French ſalts, and would be the ſame as money to his Majeſty, conſidering what quanties his kingdoms ſpend: and, beſides, I doubt not they would offer us conſtant payments of ready money; and if we could make war abroad at their charge, and without preſſing too much the ſubject at home, or needing them at every turn, I know nothing were more glorious, nor perhaps more ſafe and advantageous, for us, than to be in action abroad, eſpecially if it were in conjunction of three againſt one, and not as we were lately, one againſt three.

This we may be ſure of, that the Spaniards will give more for our defenſive league than for all others; will not much care for any others, ſo they may have

ours, and, in ſhort, will give for it whatever they are able; but the queſtion is, whether we are able to take ſo vigorous a counſel, and I doubt, not: therefore, the next would be to know, whether we are *ſo*, to enter into their defence jointly with Sweden, which would either awe the French into a continuance of the peace, or elſe without doubt make the party ſtrong enough for the war: and in this caſe we muſt be content to ſhare with Sweden whatever Spain can any way give for the purchaſe of their defence; and where our gains are leſs, the conſideration will be more of what we may loſe, or the Dutch gain in trade, if a war ſhould break out and laſt: for there would be no other reflections, ſince the Swedes, I believe, would enter into the league upon ſuch terms as Spain could make them: and the Dutch would aſk nothing better, than to ſee us all in war, and themſelves in peace, without danger of the war ending in the growth of the French power.

The third way is entering into a defenſive league with Spain, Sweden, and Holland; for in all caſes I ſuppoſe, we might reckon upon the Emperor, as far as that would ſignify. This I think were certainly to be deſired in what caſe ſoever we may be, either to accept or decline the other two. But the ills in this are; firſt, the unlikelihood of Holland's engaging in it; for I could never, ſince my firſt acquaintance here, find any diſpoſition towards it; and then the incapacity of Spain to ſatisfy the pretenſions of benefit from them, which we might all three pretend; for Holland would reſolve to have a ſhare, if we had any; ſo that the particular advantage would grow only to Sweden, by certain ſubſidies or benefits in trade from Spain: and we and Holland ſhould content ourſelves with the certainty of preventing a war by ſo powerful a league.

This is all which occurs to me upon this ſubject, and which becomes me beſt, that is, to repreſent, and not to adviſe. For matter of propoſing to the marquis, I ſuppoſe

pose he will know as well as we, that the proposals ought to come from him, at least till he desires to know of us, what we demand upon a defensive league, which is certainly the desire of Spain, either with us singly, or in conjunction with the rest; and were the more to be wished, for the preventing the Spaniards from falling into a desperate counsel, of agreeing with France, and quitting Flanders to them for advantage on the other side, and a good deal for revenge of their neighbours pressing so hard upon them, by a disadvantageous peace, and afterwards irresolution of maintaining that itself, by a defensive league.

If the king should think fit to endeavour the disposing of the Dutch to enter into it (which for my part I think they are engaged in by the first, as I remember, or the second article of the peace at Aix, though they do not conceive so) I should make some trials, and give account of what I find; for I fear we are not growing fast enough into a posture of making these paces alone, at least by what I could observe or hear during my short stay in England, which was but too much entertained with ill-bodings and complaints: but, *quid tristes querimoniae si non supplicio culpa recidi-tur? quid leges sine moribus vanae proficiunt?* without great virtue and steadiness in the government, and resolution of going through with whatsoever is thought fit and just, whereby men may see that the only way to rise is to deserve it; all tempering of factions, taking off persons, and soothing parties, is but patching up an ill house: I mean not virtue, in a peaking, formal, presbyterian sense, but that, which the greatest nations of old so politicly favoured and renowned, which consisted in those qualities that made men fit for the service of their princes and countries, by strong and healthful dispositions both of bodies and minds. Your lordship's pardon for this once, and you shall have no more such troubles as these from your lordship's, *&c.*

*To my lord Arlington.*

My Lord, Hague, Oct. 2, N. S. 1668.

SInce my laſt I have received your lordſhip's of the 14th, and in one letter from Mr. Williamſon an account of what was reſolved at the foreign committee, to whom your lordſhip's only referred the determination of what manner the amendments of the marine treaty ſhould be purſued in; and accordingly I have ſince fallen into the debate of that affair in all its particulars, with monſieur de Witt; and the differences between us are not great, and ſome of his exceptions ſeem ſo reaſonable, that I muſt be furniſhed with arguments to maintain the points againſt him, if they muſt be inſiſted on; for I confeſs I can find none of my own.

Upon the firſt he conſents to the change of the form of certifi cates, and will accept of ſuch as we ſhall draw up, ſo they run equal on both ſides, *mutatis mutandis:* but to that which the Eaſt-India company ſay, of their deſire that trade may rather be carried on without any certificate at all; he ſays, he does not ſee how that can be, or to what purpoſe all the articles are againſt counterband goods, ſince it is by the certificate whereby it is known what the ſhip is, and what the goods are ſhe carries, and thereby all farther trouble of ſearch is avoided. He ſays, he ſhould be content, and the advantage would be theirs, to have all trade free, and none to aſk at ſea what another ſhip was, whither it went, or what it carried; but, ſince that cannot be, there is no way of avoiding diſputes, beſides that of certificates: and indeed I doubt, the merchants in that conſidered not the main end of the whole regulation, which was to avoid quarrels between the nations; but only their own private intereſts, in ſaving the trouble and charge of certificates, which made them

them likewiſe deſire it might be from the magiſtrates of the ports from whence the ſhips parted, and not from the admiralty.

Upon the ſecond, he conſents to the propoſal in the margin, with only the leaving out thoſe two words [of *India*] ſo as the rule may be generally to all places, and not confined to the Indies; which I had nothing to ſay againſt, believing thoſe words fell in, only by the matter coming from the Eaſt-India company, without notice of any other traders.

Upon theſe two points I had given your lordſhip the account formerly of my having at ſeveral diſcourſes gained his conſent: and I do not find that any thing he excepts at in them, is different from what we mean ourſelves.

For the other points, which are wholly new, and additions to the treaty, they coſt us a great deal more debate, which I ſhall not trouble your lordſhip with, but only the reſult at leaſt, of the opinion he gave me leave to write to your lordſhip as his, upon them: though the firſt, ſecond, and fourth were all of more difficult digeſtion, and ſuch as I doubt would have given ſome work to commiſſioners in purſuance of the Breda treaty ſo much as to have touched: for the rtuthis, our trade in the Indies being ſo little, and theirs ſo much, all equalities of this kind are gains to us, and loſs to them.

For the firſt of the four particulars not provided for in the marine treaty, he conſents to the one half of the period ending with the word *government:* but for the other, allowing liberty to paſs any river or paſs leading to any place of trade, although the other company have a fort or caſtle upon the ſaid river or paſs; he ſays it cannot poſſibly be, nor would it ever be executed, though the States ſhould conſent to it; for in thoſe paſſes the very end of either company's building a fort or caſtle was, to ſecure the trade of ſuch a country

to themſelves; ſo as they would by this article loſe all the benefit of the expence they had been at: that, if to ſuch nations there were any other way found, not under the reach of their cannon, that paſſage ſhould be free: but under a fort built to the aforeſaid ends, he did not believe any orders would compel thoſe in it, either of our nation or theirs, to ſee the trade they had ſecured to themſelves, drawn away to the other nation by a free paſſage.

The ſecond particular I got wholly agreed to, though with much difficulty, as importing, I ſuppoſe, more advantage to us than any of the reſt, conſidering how many more nations the Dutch trade with than we, by virtue of ſuch agreements.

The third was without difficulty, importing, as we both conceived, no more, than was before provided by the marine treaty, and more particularly.

For the fourth, he could not conſent it ſhould extend farther than to ſhips belonging to either company, or to any nations or people ſubject to either company, and conſequently under protection of the ſaid company; for the making it run, in the words of our article, *To any nations with whom either company ſhall trade, and not in enmity with the other company*, would occaſion only either company's ſelling their paſſports to all the nations that would buy them, leaving it afterward to diſpute, upon any accident ſhould arrive, whether ſuch nation were in enmity with the other company or no; the natives maintaining the negative, and perhaps the company the affirmative, and it may be upon pretence of ſome new injury, which had lately given the occaſion of the enmity: and where ſuch diſputes ſhould be determined, was difficult to find. Beſides, he argued from the common uſe of nations, that paſſports operated only towards thoſe who were ſubject to ſuch who granted the paſſports, or elſe, by alliance and accord between nations, to ſuch as were one another's

another's ſubjects and under their protection: but how it ſhould extend to other nations becauſe they were not in enmity with our ally, he could not ſee any reaſon, nor had heard any example. But, on the other ſide, it was ever to be ſuppoſed, that there would be no need at all of paſſports from the one, to ſuch as were not in enmity with the other; nations being to be eſteemed as juſt in their actions, and not likely to diſturb or ſeize another without at leaſt pretence of enmity, which would be a ſort of piracy at ſea, or robbery at land; but in caſe ſuch a thing ſhould happen, no other nation concerned themſelves in it, unleſs it were offered to their ſubjects, and conſequently to perſons under their protection.

I thought his reaſoning ſeemed good, and beſides I imagined the thing was not of weight; for, where one company found a nation not in actual enmity with the other, and had a mind to protect their navigation, they might do it by receiving that nation into their protection, and then giving them paſſports as ſubjects to them. Where nations will not ſubmit to ſuch a ſubjection, they muſt protect themſelves. And this was the reſult of our conference, which came to no ſort of agreement on either ſide, ſince I neither had power to do it from his majeſty, nor he from the States: ſo that we can only repreſent on each ſide what paſſed, and attend our orders upon them; and he in the mean time diſpoſe the States to his opinion, when we meet and conclude formally upon them.

When I receive inſtructions, I ſuppoſe it will be neceſſary to know the manner as well as the matter we are to agree in; that is, whether a new marine treaty is to be made, with theſe particulars to be digeſted into the body of it; or elſe thoſe to be perfected in an inſtrument by themſelves, as additions to the marine treaty. For the doing it with or without commiſſioners I can ſay nothing, ſince ſo great authors are on

both ſides: but if both ſeem neceſſary, one to the ſubſtance, and the other to the form; I was thinking whether two or more might not be joined in commiſſion with me, to treat and conclude it with commiſſioners of theirs, and thoſe to be acquainted before-hand with what was to be expected upon this matter. But I know not how our expectation of having the commiſſioners meet at London would be ſatisfied by their meeting at the Hague; nor how forms go in joining commiſſioners to an ambaſſador, for a particular buſineſs; and ſo I leave it. I am, *&c.*

*To the duke of Buckingham.*

My Lord, Hague, Oct. 12, N. S. 1668.

THough I could not think it became me to interrupt your grace's buſineſs or entertainment by empty letters; and I know you have what ſhare you pleaſe of the conſtant troubles my lord Arlington receives upon the account of my negotiations here; yet, having this incloſed ſent me to convey to your Grace, I was in hopes a good letter may keep an ill one a little in countenance, and bear me out in taking this occaſion of preſerving myſelf in your grace's favour and memory, which I eſteem among my beſt poſſeſſions, and ſhould be glad to find ways of continuing them, rather by ſerving than by troubling you. Whilſt I can do nothing towards the firſt, I will do the leſs towards the other, and content myſelf to aſſure your grace, in the language of a plain man, that none can wiſh you happier than I do in the courſe of your fortunes and honours, nor rejoice more in the preſages I make of both, from thoſe wiſe and generous diſpoſitions I left you in, of employing thoſe many great talents and advantages given you towards his majeſty's and the kingdom's true ſervice and happineſs. I am ſtill of the mind, nothing is more neceſſary to both, than

than the continuance and increaſe of that harmony which we uſed with ſo much reaſon to wiſh ſo well to, and which I think has at this time more operation, than that of the ſpheres was thought to have upon the good temper and order of the world. For, I believe, the ſpring of all the motions or quiet we are like to ſee round about us lies in that point and thoſe counſels which proceed from it.

I beg your grace's pardon for this trouble, which I ſhould not have begun, but to end with my being, my lord, your grace's moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant.

*To the Conſtable of Caſtile.*

Hague, Oct. 19,
My Lord, N. S. 1668.

HAving paſſed ſo much time, and with ſo much ſatisfaction to myſelf, in his majeſty's ſervice at Bruſſels; it is impoſſible for me to loſe the concern I have ever had for the intereſt of that country, or to avoid rejoicing with your excellency upon your ſucceeding in the government, wiſhing you all honour and ſatisfaction, as foreſeeing many advantages to his catholic majeſty in ſo prudent a choice. But, with the plainneſs that has been always natural to me, I muſt confeſs that it has not been at this time without ſome regret that I have loſt the correſpondence of a governor of Flanders, with whom I had contracted ſo great a friendſhip, and had ſo intire a confidence;

*Al Condeſtable de Caſtilla.*

*De la Haye, Oct.* 19,
Ex^mo. Sen^r. S. N. 1668.

*SEnnor mio. Haviendo ſtado tanto tiempo y con tanto guſto a Bruſſellas, de la parte del rey mi ſennor, no me es poſſible perder el encarecimento que he ſiempre tenido por las coſas y intereſſes deſte pays, ni dexar de dar a V. E. el parabien de ſu llegada a eſte govierno deſſeandole en ello mucha ſatisfaccion y honra, como augurando a ſu mageſtad catolica mucho provecho de tan ſabia eleccion. Pero con la llaneza que me ha ſido ſiempre natural, es meneſter confeſſar, que me peſa mucho en eſte punto de haver perdido la correſpondencia de un governador de Flandes, con quien he tenido tan eſtrecha amiſtad, y entera confianza; hallandome agora en una conyunctura, y aviendo diſpueſto los eſtados de aqui de tal manera que me pa-*

*reçe*

fidence; finding myself in such a conjuncture (after having so disposed the States of Holland) as to be confident of having it in my power to do something, if not something very considerable, for the common good and repose of Christendom, as well as for the interest and safety of the Spanish monarchy; if there were at present a governor of Flanders that had full powers joined with his own desires, and confidence between us to agree together in the concert of such a negotiation. I doubt it will not look prudent to enter farther into such reasoning with your excellency, to whom I am so wholly unknown; though perhaps you may have heard at Bruffels that I am not a man used to build castles in the air, no more than to engage myself unseasonably in affairs of s kind: but your excellency may believe me, that at this time nothing is more absolutely necessary, nor that more concerns the interest of Spain, than that absolute powers should be sent either to your excellency, or some other minister, to treat and conclude with the three allies, and which is likewise as necessary for the pretended satisfaction of the Swedes, as for the advantage (in so much greater proportion) that it may be to Spain and the common interest

*reçe poder obrar algo, sino mucho por el bien commun, y por el reposo de la Christianidad, como por la salud y intereſſes de la monarchia de Espanna, si estuviera aora governador o ministro en Flandes que tuviera poderes bastantes y tan bien la voluntad y confiença para concurrir commigo en el concierto de tal negocio. No pareciera de hombre discreto de entrar mas adelante en estas razones con V. E. a quien soy tan desconocido; aunque bien pudiera aver entendido a Bruſſellas que no soy hombre para dezir disparates, ni para ponerme fuera de tiempo y occasion en cosas agenas. Pero crea me V. E. que no sey qué no puede aver otra en este tiempo que toca mas a Espanna, ny que la sea tan necessaria, que de embiar sin perder punto o a V. E. o a otro ministro poderes absolutos para tratar y concluyr con los tres alliades, loque fuera menester, tan bien por la satisfaccion pretendida de los Suedeses, que por la utilitad que con ella se puede alcançar mas que proporcionado a la Espanna, y al bien commun de la Christianidad. Lo mismo que digo de una parte a V. E. vengo de desir de otra al ministro de Suecia, a qui residente porque bien hecho de ver, que con las ydas y bueltas en Espanna y en Suecia sobre estas materias, no se hara jamas sino perder el tiempo y las occasiones, aunque el primero nunca se le velve a los hombres,*

reſt of Chriſtendom. The ſame that I ſay on one ſide to your excellency, I come from ſaying on the other to the Swediſh miniſter reſident here: for it is too plain to be ſeen, that with the length of the journeys, and returns from Spain and Sweden, nothing can be hoped for but the loſs of time and occaſions; the firſt of which never returns to mortal man, and very rarely the other: at leaſt, it is certain that, if we do not this winter make our advantage of the preſent poſture of affairs for the common good, we are never again to hope for the ſame occaſion.

I beg of your excellency, that this advice may be only to yourſelf, or thoſe in Spain who are moſt concerned in it. What is moſt neceſſary, I have told your excellency, is to haſten the powers, and that needs no conſultation, the reſt time will ſhew; and 'tis not neceſſary the Spaniſh miniſters here ſhould concern themſelves in it till the powers come. I engage myſelf to diſpoſe things ſo here, that, whenever they arrive, your excellency ſhall be able to make the advantage of them, for your maſter and the countries you govern. Your excellency will not look upon this letter as coming from an ambaſſador, but from a man extremely

*hombres, y muy raramente las poſtreras. A lo menos muy claro eſta, que ſi eſte hivierno no nos approvechamos de las preſentes por il bien commun, nunca hemos de eſperar las miſmas por el venidero.*

*Supplico a V. E. que eſte aviſo la ſirve a ſolas, ſi no a los tan bien en Eſpanna qui ſon los mas intereſſados en ellos. Porque lo que es el neceſſario lo vengo de deſir en lo de hazer venir los poderes, en eſto no ſe ha de conſultar; por demas los tiempos lo diran, y no ſe avra di entremeterſe a qui, en el entretanto miniſtro Eſpannol antes que vengan los poderes, que yo me encargo de diſponer las coſas a qui di manera que llegendo los V. E. avra de approvecharſe d' ellos por el bien de ſu rey, y de los payſes que govierna. V. E. no ha de interpretar eſto como viniendo di mano de ambaxador, pero de un hombre muy afficionado al bien commun, y un poco eſclarecido en las coſas corrientes, commo aviendo*

extremely desiring the public good, and that has been a little inlightened by having so much part in what has been designed towards it: and I hope will pardon my having entertained you so long in a language that I begin now to forget, and had never learned well: but I had no mind what I have here said to your excellency should pass thro' another hand.

*viendo tenido tanta parte en ellas; y me pardone averla en tretenido en una lengua que y a commiença a olvida, aviendo le nunca bien apprendido; pero no he querido que V. E. en lo que la digo, avria de tercero.*

Pray God preserve your excellency, and give me the occasions of serving you.

*Guarde Dios a V. E. muchos annos, y me de las occasiones de servir la.*

I kiss your excellency's hand, *&c.*

B. L. M. D. V. E.
Su mayor servidor.

## *To my Lord keeper.*

My Lord, Hague, Nov. 2, N. S. 1668.

I Have had the honour of your lordship's of the 13th past some days by me, and deferred the acknowledgment of it till this post, that I might make it at a little more leisure. I must first beg so much favour from your lordship (for I shall esteem it a kindness to me) that you will never constrain yourself to write to me in pain or trouble; but upon all such occasions use either any other hand, or any other's correspondence with me, to send me your commands: and in the next place I shall desire your lordship's belief, that I never took any thing ill in the least, from any hand, that I knew meant me well; and am very well pleased to hear of my faults from my friends, as I hope they will ever be to receive my just excuses, and others I shall never desire to trouble them with. I know

know your lordſhip is ſatisfied with what I did in ſhewing that letter, having given you the advice of it at the ſame time I promiſed it; and I ſhall make uſe of the prudent intimation you pleaſe to give me upon that particular.

Monſieur de Witt has ſeveral times ſpoke to me ſince about the *pavillon*, applauding your lordſhip's reſolution, or at leaſt inclination, to bring it to ſome certainty; and deſired me to offer to your lordſhip as moſt advantageous to a good iſſue in it, that the expedients he propoſed you would firſt mention as your own; becauſe whatever is offered from the contrary party is commonly either ſuſpected, or deſpiſed, even for its being ſo. I find, a good end of this matter is the point he has much at heart, believing no quarrel could ever happen between the nations, if that occaſion were once out of the way. He ſays, he has never yet ſpoken to any man about the offers and expedients he propoſed, and knows they will be ſtomached by many here; but he will put all the ſtrength he has upon it to make them paſs, or any thing elſe that is at all reaſonable in the caſe, and doubts not to ſucceed. I ſuppoſe whatever we have by accord with them will not be only ſo much of a gained, inſtead of a diſputed right; but will engage them to further our pretence of ſo much with our neighbours, and to take part in our quarrel, if any ſhall be raiſed by any of them with us, upon that point; and if ſo, we ſhould have ſomething very ſubſtantial for that which methinks is very airy now, and which ſerves only for an occaſion of wars at a time we have no mind to enter into any, and, I doubt, with ſome reaſon: for if we had a conquering genius at this time among us, and force to ſecond it, nothing could be ſo uſeful to us as this pretence; but every pilot, that would be ſafe and well, muſt carry ſail as the weather is abroad, and as the ſides of his ſhip are ſtrong or weak to reſiſt it.

I am

I am much pleaſed to find I have the honour of agreeing with your lordſhip in all points that fall into conſideration, as well this, as that about envoys, and about the benefits of a quadruple league; concerning which I writ my opinion freely in one to my lord Arlington by the laſt poſt, being the only thing which can crown the great work his majeſty has undertaken, of ſettling the peace of Chriſtendom, and giving a ſtop to the French career, which about ten months ſince was in a fair way to over-run us all, one after another; and hangs ſtill like a cloud over all their neighbours heads, leaving every one in doubt when and where it will fall. And till that be compaſſed, I ſhall hardly be ſecure of Spain's not trinkling at one time or other with France, for the remainder of Flanders, at leaſt upon ſuch a revolution as would arrive at that king's death, if not before: nor of the French party's getting ground enough again into Sweden, at one time or other, to turn the bias of that crown towards the French intereſts by the offers of money, which can beſt be made them on that ſide: whereas by ſuch a league Spain would find their account in keeping Flanders, and not fear any war which the French pretenſions there might engage them in: Sweden would find theirs by ſome certain ſubſidies from Spain, even in times of peace, and by aſſurance from them and us of greater, in caſe of a war: Holland would be broken off from all return into any new meaſures with France, and be forced to follow the common intereſts and counſels of the alliance: Spain and Sweden would be both hindered from entering into any ſeparate concert or treaty without us and Holland: the emperor, and princes of the Empire, and duke of Lorrain, would be glad to be admitted into ſuch an alliance; and his majeſty would remain head and director of a league which would have the glory of preſerving the peace of Chriſtendom, and checking and bounding the French greatneſs, at a time

time when no other prince durſt look it in the face. And in caſe of a war breaking out from France, in ſpite of all theſe defences; I ſuppoſe, conſidering the ſtrength of the alliance, and the temper of our people at home, bent wholly upon theſe counſels, his majeſty would have rather reaſon to deſire, than to apprehend it.

I conceive the way of effecting ſuch a league muſt be to make a draught of it with monſieur de Witt here, if he can be finally diſpoſed to it: and that with all the ſecrecy in the world, and to proceed in it, as near as is poſſible, with all the fairneſs and equality, in the conſideration and comprehenſion of each party's intereſts, which is the only way to facilitate ſuch negotiations; and whenever we and monſieur de Witt are agreed in it, then for his majeſty to take upon him the propoſing it to Spain, and trying what private advantages may be gained from that crown, in conſideration of his both propoſing and effecting a matter ſo much to their advantage.

All that ſeems to be againſt ſuch a counſel is his majeſty's preſent want of treaſure, which renders him in a condition very unfit to enter into any action abroad, by provoking France.

As to that: Firſt, the end of this counſel is peace, and not war; and ſeems indeed the only way to ſecure it, by letting France ſee they cannot find their account in a war; for, till they do that, they will never leave the deſigns of it. Then, inſtead of provoking France, I ſhould think this would make them much warmer in their offers and applications towards us; when they ſee, that, without gaining us, they are abſolutely bound to the peace; for, to ſay the truth, our falling at any time into the French intereſts is the ready way to a war abroad, wherein it may be we ſhall not have any preſent ſhare, but ſhall pay for our preſent quiet with dear intereſt of the utmoſt danger after two or three years time.

Beſides,

Beſides, though our condition is ill towards the ſupport of a war, it is the moſt imprudent thing we can do, perhaps, to own it, if we intend to continue any commerce abroad; whereas looking our juſt debts, both to our neighbours and ourſelves, boldly in the face, will, as it does ſometimes with a merchant, hold up our credit ſo high, that with good future management, and the ſtrength of that, we may help to re-eſtabliſh our eſtate; but if not, nothing can keep us up ſo much, as being cloſely linked with ſeveral other traders of better ſtock, who will by that means become engaged not to let us ſink. And in caſe of action to ſucceed ſuch a quadruple alliance, and his majeſty's neceſſities keeping him from furniſhing his part towards the ſupport of it, it is not to be imagined that Spain and Holland would not do their utmoſt towards his ſupply, rather than loſe his aſſiſtance and leave him under the temptation of falling into any new meaſures with France.

After all this, I think, let his majeſty make what paces he pleaſes, either bold or tender, in the way he is (for I cannot think of a change in that with the preſent conjunctures) I know nothing will be ſo neceſſary, with the foreſight either of peace or war, as for his majeſty not to be found the next ſpring without any money in his treaſury, or credit to raiſe it ſpeedily and eaſily, without relying wholly upon his parliament's ſupplies, by any new burdens upon the body of the people; for that can hardly be done without long and perhaps croſs debates of the houſe, which leſſen his majeſty's credit with his neighbours, whenever they happen, more than the ſupplies granted can raiſe it; and beſides, after ſo great payments as the kingdom has continued ever ſince his majeſty's reſtoration, eſpecially during the laſt three years, though joined with the great diminution of money and trade during the war; I queſtion whether any thing conſiderable can be raiſed

raiſed in general upon the people, without ſome reaſonable occaſions of averſion and complaints.

But nothing, they ſay, is more the part of a weak underſtanding, and unfit for buſineſs, than to propoſe and inlarge upon inconveniencies, without ſo much as offering remedies: and therefore I ſhall ſay, that firſt, methinks, two propoſals which have been already afoot, are very conſiderable towards this end; as the ſelling of ſmall inconſiderable quit-rents, where the ſum is hardly worth the charge of raiſing, and yet, by the reaſon of the trouble to the tenant by them, they will yield five or ſix, if not ten, years purchaſe more than greater rents: if this counſel be tied up to theſe circumſtances, I think it very advantageous, and as prejudicial if it be ſuffered to go beyond them.

Secondly, the ſelling of the chimney-money would, I ſuppoſe, be eaſily granted by the parliament; would take off the tax, of all others moſt diſtaſteful to the ſubjects, and if ſold at pretty eaſy and moderate rates, would be taken kindly of the people, purchaſed readily, and yield a very great ſum; and the moſt equally raiſed that any could be, ſparing no man's part, and holding an equal proportion with every man's eſtate: only this circumſtance ſhould be in it to make it eaſy, that not only every man ſhould have the offer and preemption of his own; but if upon refuſal it ſhould be ſold to another hand, yet it ſhall be free for the owner to buy it of him at any time within a certain ſpace, as of two or three years; and the preſent purchaſer to be content with the profit he ſhall have made in the mean time, which will prove a great intereſt for his capital.

Thirdly, a reducing of the intereſt which the king pays from ten to eight in the hundred, with which the bankers may very well be contented, and muſt be, I ſuppoſe, if the king pleaſes, and finds a courſe to make them ſee their ſecurity cannot fail them: for

two in the hundred gain is, of all reaſon, enough for them where the ſecurity they receive is as good as what they give, as it is in this caſe; for the king's ſecurity to the banker is in effect the banker's ſecurity to his private creditors; and whenever one fails, the other muſt. Now the bankers pay but ſix in the hundred at moſt for inland money, and leſs for ſome: and, I have reaſon to doubt, a very great trade is driven with them from Holland by Dutch merchants, who turn their money through their hands, encouraged by the great intereſt they gain there in lieu of ſo ſmall here, that the States have lately refuſed to take the value of twenty thouſand pounds Sterling of the duke of Lunenburg's money at two and a half per cent. and three is the utmoſt that any man makes. And if the king by granting good ſecurity, punctual payments, and the reputation of good order in his revenue, were gotten into credit, I do not ſee why he might not upon occaſion take up what he pleaſed at ſix per cent. as well as the States do here at two and a half.

Fourthly, to enable the king upon any occaſion to give better ſecurity, I know nothing would do ſo much, as if the parliament could be diſpoſed to ſettle the cuſtoms upon him for one year after his death, as they are already for his life; but that being an uncertain term, money will not be readily, or without exaction of intereſt, lent upon that which may fail next day: and yet I conceive it to be the largeſt branch of the revenue, and in all other points the moſt certain.

Fifthly, if any thing were ſet on foot in parliament towards an act of reſumption of grants of crown lands ſince a certain time, uſe might at leaſt be made of it towards drawing ſuch grantees to a voluntary compoſition of holding their grants at the rent of a fourth or fifth part of the real value to the crown, in conſideration of having ſuch grants confirmed by act of parliament, or the king's engagement to conſent to nothing

thing to their prejudice, after their conſent to ſuch a rent and tenure.

Sixthly, a view may be made at leaſt of what has been gained by any grants from his Majeſty, above what were really his Majeſty's intentions to grant: as where the King intended to give five hundred pounds a year, and perhaps ſeven or eight, or a thouſand pounds is made of it: and the ſame of ſums of money out of certain benefits granted towards the raiſing them; and what is found to be beyond the intention of the King's grant, to be repaid.

Many ſmaller particulars might perhaps be thought of; all which, with what has been mentioned, will be made valuable by a good order in the management, and a ſtanch hand in grants hereafter, till the King be as much before-hand, as he is behind hand-now. I am, my Lord, your, &c.

## *To Mr.* [d] *Mountague.*

My Lord, Hague, Jan. 2, N. S. 1669.

IT is an ill deſign for the dulneſs of this place, that I muſt have recourſe to the compliments of the ſeaſon, for the occaſion of a letter; and that I can find very little to ſay from hence, beſides wiſhing your Lordſhip, according to our good old ſtyle, a merry Chriſtmas. The Spaniards have not yet had ſo much good nature as to make ours here the merrier, with their two hundred thouſand crowns: I doubt it has ſome enchantment or other upon it; and is not to be delivered but in ſome fatal hour, or by ſome charmed knight. All is here frozen up; and the biſhop of Munſter may march if he pleaſes; but if he do, as has been ſo much talked, will blow his fingers unleſs he receives very great influences from your warmer climate: for the good pay of the States is in ſo much credit among their

[d] Afterwards Duke of Mountague.

neighbours, that I believe they will not want what forces they ſhall have occaſion for, beſides what they have a-foot.

I ſhould be very glad to hear what becomes of my Lord and Lady of Northumberland, and how long they intend their pilgrimage, ſuppoſing your Lordſhip keeps ſome correſpondence with them, of which I am out of the way, but very much in that of being, my lord, your excellency's moſt obedient humble ſervant.

## *To my Lord Arlington.*

My Lord, Hague, Jan. 18, N. S. 1669.

THE Baron d'Iſola arrived here yeſterday; I have this afternoon had ſome diſcourſes with him upon the ſubject of his journey, which he profeſſes to be a deſire of advancing the treaty of guaranty, as a thing his maſter has more intereſt in than Spain itſelf, which will be better able to ſubſiſt after the loſs of Flanders, than the Empire can. I find he came with hopes of effecting much by his eloquence and great parts, and by making others ſee more of their own intereſts, than they were willing to do. And ſo the two themes wherein he came provided, were to make it evident that France would open the war again this ſpring, and within ſix weeks attack either Burgundy or Luxenburg; and on the other ſide, that the councils of Spain, as they are now compoſed, if they ſaw not a ſolid and firm aſſiſtance from their neighbours, would fall into the eaſieſt way of ending that matter, by giving up Flanders upon the beſt terms they could: that they were as a ſick man, that would not or could not help themſelves, and were ſo to be dealt with by thoſe that were ſo deeply concerned in their loſs, as theſe States in particular ſeem to be: and that after the diſarming of the duke of Lorrain, which France had now reſolved, and the ſeizing of Burgundy, which would

be their next work; it would be impoſſible to maintain a war in what remains of Flanders, when they could do it no longer by diverſion, after theſe two inlets into France ſtopped up. From this we fell into the ſtory of the Swediſh ſubſidies, and the hardſhips put upon Spain in that buſineſs; all which I ſuppoſe your lordſhip has heard a dozen times already, and are obvious enough, and therefore I ſhall not repeat them, not remembering any thing new in that diſcourſe: but it ended with Spain's having leſs reaſon to pay for that peace, than France; ſince the guaranty offered would be equal to both, and the gain of the war had been all on the French ſide; that for his part, he could truſt little in any treaty where the obligations were not reciprocal; and when the guaranty was given, he did not know whether theſe States would not be ſtill apt to ſacrifice any new conqueſts France ſhould make, to any unreaſonable peace, provided the danger grew not nearer them: and he had the more reaſon to believe it, by a reſolution he was aſſured of, among the States of Holland, to treat with France about diverting their attempts upon Flanders in caſe of the king of Spain's death, and leaving all the reſt of that monarchy open to his pretenſions.

This was the ſubſtance of his firſt diſcourſe: upon which I told him, that the friendlieſt office I could do him at his arrival, was to tell him, what men and what reſolutions he would find here, to the end he might not loſe his paces by their being at firſt ill directed. That, for their own intereſt in the preſervation of Flanders, they thought, they underſtood it as well as any other of their neighbours, and needed no new lights in that proſpect, nor new motions, to engage in its defence, if they might hope to ſucceed: that this depended upon Spain's good conduct and proviſions in Flanders, and upon their ſatisfying Sweden. That without Sweden's engagement, Holland could do nothing

conſiderable in their defence, lying open to the French on one ſide, and the biſhop of Munſter on the other; and without Holland, he might aſſure himſelf, the king would never intereſt himſelf in their quarrel, but ſeek his meaſures ſome way elſe; ſo that the ſtrength of their whole aſſiſtance depended upon the engaging of Sweden, and that upon payment of the ſubſidies. That I would tell him freely, I thought Holland might be induced to give a general guaranty, according to the article of the treaty at Aix. That if his majeſty and Sweden would be induced to join with them in it, I thought it was the cheapeſt bargain that ever any crown had made. That I believed a guaranty, without reciprocal engagements, more to their advantage, and leſs to ours, than a defenſive league, which they ſo much deſired: but yet the conjuncture was ſuch, and the reſpects that entered into it, as I could aſſure him he would fail in the purſuit of the laſt; and, I believed, might ſucceed if he would content himſelf with the other. That, if nothing elſe were in the way, there was not time left for it, and therefore I would adviſe him to loſe none about it. That for what ſhould happen after the king of Spain's death, I was confident, neither the king nor the States would enter into it; but leave thoſe conſiderations to the ſeaſon in which they ſhould ariſe. That if Spain was reſolved to deſtroy themſelves, that was a thing beyond all our prevention or remedy, and ſo only to be bemoaned, and no more to be thought on: if they would be preſerved, they knew the price, which is, the Swediſh ſubſidies, and could beſt tell whether it were worth it or no.

This I thought was the beſt way of dealing with a perſon that had more wit a great deal than I, and ſo would be ſure to have the better in argument: and beſides, I thought it fitteſt for a buſineſs, which it is neceſſary to bring to ſome ſhort iſſue: and the baron ſeemed not to reſent it ill, and ſaid, Well, if you are

certain

certain the Dutch will not be brought to a league with us, we muſt think of what we can have, and not what we cannot: and all that remained to be done, was to draw up the form of a guaranty, and ſend it to the conſtable: and let him know, that upon ſatisfaction of the Swediſh ſubſidies, that ſhould be ready for him, and without it we had no more to ſay. I told him I thought he was in the right way, and hoped he would ſucceed in it, and aſſured him of our endeavours to draw Sweden to the ſame meaſures and perſuade them, if need were, to ſome little eaſe in the terms of payment. He aſked me, in caſe the ſubſidies were not paid, and the guaranty given, and France ſhould next March attack Burgundy or Luxenburg, what I thought we would do? I told him, I was ever to think, that the king and his allies would do upon all occaſions, what they had engaged. He would have had me join with him in drawing up an inſtrument of guaranty; but I, that had a mind to excuſe myſelf, at leaſt till I received my inſtruction, adviſed him to propoſe it to monſieur de Witt, with whom he had an hour aſſigned upon our parting. And ſo our firſt conference ended. I am, my lord, your, *&c.*

## *To my lord keeper.*

My Lord, Hague, Apr. 24, N. S. 1669.

UPON a late converſation with monſieur de Witt, though I had ſome reaſon to be ſurpriſed, yet I think I had none to take any notice of it; but I am very ſure I can have no reaſon for doing it to any other perſon, but to your lordſhip, of whoſe friendſhip I have had ſo many teſtimonies, and with whom I have lived in ſo much confidence ever ſince our firſt acquaintance. The preſent ſubject is ſo delicate, that I can hardly tell how to touch it myſelf, or to truſt it in any other hands but your lordſhip's, who will better

judge whether any uſe may be made of it, and I am, ſure will make no ill one; nor do I expect there can be other, than to gain ſome light in a matter wherein I am wholly ignorant, and perhaps your lordſhip may not have been curious enough to obſerve ſo near; and which it is yet very neceſſary for us both to be as well informed as we can.

Monſieur de Witt came to me, as he ſaid, upon a particular viſit; and as a friend, not a miniſter: but the occaſion of it at preſent he would confeſs, was, to acquaint me with a converſation he had lately had with monſieur Puffendorff, a Swediſh agent, who paſſed this way from Paris to his own country: that he had been ſome time at the French court ſince our meaſures taken by the triple alliance, and the negotiations ſet on foot with the Spaniards in conſequence of them. That the miniſters in France had taken much pains to perſuade him that Sweden would find their account very ill in purſuing thoſe meaſures: that Spain would fail them, in what was pretended from them, and that Holland alone would not be able to ſupport them, or the meaſures they had raſhly taken; and to make this good, the miniſters there had at length told him (but as a ſecret only for the ſervice and information of the court of Sweden) that England would certainly fail them; and was already changed in the courſe of all thoſe counſels they had taken with Holland and Sweden, though they did not think fit to let any thing of it appear: and the ſecret was yet in very few hands, either in the French or the Engliſh court. That when this agent ſeemed incredulous of all this ſtory, and to ſuſpect that it was artificial, and only intended to give an umbrage or falſe light to the court of Sweden, and thereby help them to make the firſt falſe ſtep; monſieur Turenne at laſt ſhewed him a letter from monſieur Colbert their ambaſſador, wherein he gave an account of the happy ſucceſſes he had met with in his negotiations at

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our court, of the good diſpoſitions there, and eſpecially thoſe of ſome of our chief miniſters; upon which he added theſe words, [k] *Et je leur ay enfin fait ſentir tout l'étendue de la liberalité de ſa majeſté.*

Here monſieur de Witt ſtopped as if he had no more to ſay, and with a very equal countenance; though I found he had obſerved mine more narrowly all the while he was talking, as well as when he ended. For my part, though I thought the ſtory and the circumſtances very odd, and knew not what to make of it; yet I believe I looked innocent, and thereby as unconcerned as he did. I told him I had reaſon to be ſurpriſed at what he had ſaid, but did not know whether we had either of us any, to put much weight, or draw any great conſequence from all this ſtory: that there might be artifice in it, on ſeveral hands; and ſome of thoſe it had paſſed through might deceive, and others be deceived; that there might be miſtake in mens apprehenſions of what paſſed in talk, and the relations too: that monſieur Colbert might ſay a great deal to value his ſervices to his court, and more than he thought himſelf: that the Swediſh agent might be made partial in France to their intereſts, and wiſh his crown ſtill in them, as moſt beneficial to the miniſters there that were ſo engaged: that it was at leaſt artificial in the French court, to employ monſieur Turenne to give this notice to the Swediſh agent, and ſhew him monſieur Colbert's letter, which had been more proper for a ſecretary of ſtate; but that it was likely monſieur Turenne's ſhewing it and believing it, would have more credit and more effect in the court of Sweden. That farther than this I had nothing to ſay upon it, beſides proteſting to him upon my honour and truth, that I knew nothing of it; nor had I reaſon,

[k] *And I have at laſt made them ſenſible of the whole extent of his majeſty's liberality.*

by

by any thing I heard from England, to ſuſpect any more than I knew. That I had told him, upon the negotiation of our laſt alliance and his ſuſpicions of our inconſtancy in England, what I truly thought of the diſpoſitions and intentions both of his majeſty and his miniſters: that I knew, and all men confeſſed, their intereſts were ſo deep in it, as well as the humour of the whole kingdom, that it was hard to think I could be deceived. That, however, I could anſwer for no man but myſelf, and that I would; that if ever theſe meaſures were broken, it ſhould not be by me; nor would I ever have any part in deſtroying, what I had the honour of building, ſo much for the ſafety, as I conceived, of both our nations, and the reſt of Chriſtendom; and with ſo much glory and applauſe to his majeſty's counſels upon that occaſion. That I was ſtill of the ſame mind, and had no more to ſay.

Monſieur de Witt ſmiled, and ſaid, what he had told me was but as a friend and in converſation; and left me to make what uſe I pleaſed of it, or none if I thought fit, without drawing it into farther conſequence; that he had been very ſuſpicious when he firſt entered into the miniſtry, but had been ſo often deceived by it, that he had cured himſelf of that quality. That he knew very well it had been ſaid among ſome foreign miniſters here ſome months ſince, [k] *Qu'il faut avouer qu'il y a eu pour neuf mois du plus grand miniſtere du monde en Angleterre*; as if they believed ſome change had befallen our counſels before the laſt year ended. That for his part, who went to the ſubſtantial as near as he could, and the plaineſt way, he had made but one reflection, and kept that as much as he could to himſelf: which was, that after my embaſſy hither had been reſolved in England, to ſupport and improve the ends of our laſt alliances, and to engage the em-

[k] *That it muſt be confeſſed, there has been for nine months the greateſt miniſtry in the world in England.*

peror

peror and chief princes of the empire, as well as Spain, in the ſupport of them, he could not but wonder to find me engaged of late by my orders from court ſo warmly in a *chicane* about ſuch a trifle as that of Surinam, and in ſo many eager diſputes about the pretenſions of our Eaſt-India company, which were fitter for merchants than for miniſters, and looked as if we had them more at heart, than the purſuit of thoſe public intereſts that were thought ſo neceſſary for Chriſtendom at my firſt coming over: but after all, for his part he would go on conſtantly upon the foot of our laſt alliance, as the beſt ground of our common ſafety; and believed the States would do ſo too, till his majeſty or his miniſters ſhould let them plainly ſee, he had changed his meaſures. And with this, riſing up, he ſeemed not to expect any anſwer, but to go away in very good humour: and I was not very deſirous to draw our diſcourſe into more length, and ſo it ended.

It is time this letter ſhould do ſo too, which I deſire your lordſhip will burn when you have read it; and to forget it, if you find no occaſion to think farther of it; and then I ſhall endeavour to do ſo too. I am ſure it ſhould never have begun, if it were not to end with the profeſſions of that truth and paſſion wherewith I am, my lord, your lordſhip's moſt faithful and moſt humble ſervant.

## *To my lord Cavendiſh.*

My Lord, Hague, July 18, N. S. 1669.

THough I had much rather make your lordſhip my compliments upon ſome better fortunes, and upon your health, rather than your dangers; yet I could not omit doing it at this time, upon ſo honourable a part as all men allow you to have had in your late adventure at Paris; which I do not only as a private perſon and ſervant of your lordſhip's, who wiſhes you

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all increaſe of honour that may not be bought too dear; but withal as a public miniſter, who ought ever to conſider above all things the honour of our nation, and knows that the complexion of it in time of peace is very much either mended or ſpoiled in the eyes of ſtrangers, by the actions and carriage of particular perſons abroad. I can aſſure your lordſhip, all that can be ſaid to your advantage upon this occaſion is the common diſcourſe here; and not diſputed by the French themſelves; who ſay, you have been as generous in excuſing your enemies as brave in defending yourſelf: the Dutch will have it, that you have been the firſt in exceſs; and ſay, that ſuch a thing, as ſeven or eight falling upon one, would never have been done in any other place but France, nor ſuffered neither by the reſt of the company. However, I am of opinion, if exceſs may be allowed in any part, it is in that; and therefore rejoice with you in the honour of both, and with myſelf in that of my being, my lord, your lordſhip's moſt obedient humble ſervant.

*To my lord Arlington.*

My Lord, Hague, July . . . . 1669.

I Am to acknowledge your lordſhip's of July the ninth, and have but too much reaſon to agree with you in deſpairing to ſee this matter of the marine article to be brought to any fair concluſion, about which I writ at large by laſt poſt to Sir John Trevor; and will tell your lordſhip more in private, that I very much fear our Eaſt-India merchants have ſome farther meaning in it, than yet we underſtand, and than they deſire we ſhould. For having had this whole buſineſs run through my head with more thought and application, than ever any other did before, I could not but obſerve many ſeveral inequalities in their proceedings, and make ſome reflections upon them.

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As firſt, that it began immediately upon the finiſhing our alliances with the Dutch; in which none could detract in the leaſt from the glory abroad, and popular applauſe at home, of the king's counſels, but by declaiming againſt this marine treaty, though at firſt it was only upon the inequality of the paſſports: when that point was eaſily accorded by monſieur de Witt, our merchants added another, about the definition of a *beſieged place*, which was all their exceptions againſt the treaty itſelf could amount to: but when there were ſome hopes given by monſieur de Witt in his letters to me, that this likewiſe might be ſurmounted, they added ſeveral other articles, untouched in the marine treaty: and when they ſaw all were like to be gained here, but that one of a free trade with people not in ſubjection, and of paſſing forts (which Sir George Downing had found here was an invincible point) they then declared, that without this, all the reſt were worth nothing: and upon this ſaid, They have left our treaty a-ground, now for about eight months paſt. When we begun firſt to ſtruggle out of it, they ſaid, they only aimed at preventing ſome innovations, which had been of late years practiſed by the Dutch, againſt the ancient uſages in thoſe parts, and many others of the ſame kind, which they had reaſon to fear: whereupon the Dutch deſired the particular inſtances of what they either had felt, or thought they had occaſion to fear, that ſo they might redreſs us in particular, and underſtand us in general: our merchants inſtanced in Cochin and Cananor, and I think one other place, which, monſieur de Witt ſaid, was not at all to the caſe, but to another, provided for by the defining of a *beſieged place:* ſo that I was forced by them here, to preſs ſtill for inſtances by ſeveral letters, till the merchants at laſt ſent a long angry paper, with very many recapitulations of things paſt, and which the Dutch ſaid had been debated and agreed in former treaties; and therefore

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ſtill deſired to know, which of the particulars named, we thought applicable to the preſent queſtion. Upon which I received anſwer, that the practice of the Dutch, againſt which they deſired to provide, was but beginning; that they could not, or that it was to no purpoſe, to give particular inſtances, their apprehenſions being general, of what the Dutch intended to impoſe upon us: and that, in ſhort, what we deſired, was for prevention rather than remedy; which, they ſaid, made it much harder in the Dutch to deny us.

After this monſieur de Witt and I concerted an article between us, to propoſe to our principals on either ſide, and which I confeſs I thought comprehended our meaning, as I underſtood it by the letters I received from your lordſhip, and the king's other miniſters; which though it was immediately refuſed at Amſterdam, as liable to the interpretations they ſo much feared, yet was likewiſe rejected by our merchants too, and another ſent over, yet ſtronger than the firſt, in thoſe parts wherein the Dutch were moſt ſenſible; though your lordſhip ſeemed to think, the article I had tranſmitted, would reach our aim, till you propoſed it to them.

Upon the new debates we engaged in, arrives the news of what we had ſuffered at Macaſſar; which our merchants made to be a formidable inſtance in the buſineſs depending, and of far more conſequence than all they apprehended by Dutch forts and paſſes; and therefore immediately preſented the king with their demand of reſtitution, together with ſome other particulars which we were fain to diſown immediately, as againſt an expreſs article of the treaty at Breda: and I had the blame of propoſing all their demands to the Dutch, though the paper of them was ſent to me without any diſtinction.

So ſoon as the point of Macaſſar was yielded us, which I thought would prove the moſt difficult of any, as of moſt importance, and was, I am ſure, for a great while

while the moſt conteſted; and after the project of a general article was gained from the Dutch (againſt all their former reſolutions) which was grounded upon theſe two points, that we deſire no innovations, and will make no particular inſtances or complaints, in which they have ever offered us redreſs: our merchants ſeeing the matter draw near a fair iſſue, now ſeem reſolved to end all with theſe two anſwers: that their reſtitution to Macaſſar (as Sir John Trevor writes) will be too dear bought by ſuch an article as ſhall confirm upon us all the injuries we have complained of by forts, and paſſes, and treaties too; whereas the article as it is propoſed by the Dutch (however defective) does not extend to any treaties to come, but only to the paſt; nor do the Dutch deſire to ſell us Macaſſar at the price of any ſuch article; but had much rather reſtore it to us upon concluding the treaty, without any ſuch article at all: nor do I know yet of the injuries in particular we have already complained of, either by forts, paſſes, or treaties, beſides this of Macaſſar; but contrary have always been told, what we deſired was rather for prevention than remedy. But next they ſay (as your lordſhip tells me) they had rather be left as they are, with their pretenſions fair and entire, than have them blaſted for ever with a bad concluſion: whereas no concluſion they now make, upon what we have gained, and the redreſs of what they complained of in the marine treaty (though without this conteſted article) but will leave them and their pretenſions in the ſame condition they were before: the ſame liberty ſtill remaining upon the laſt article of the marine treaty, to appoint commiſſioners, and alter or add any thing, when both parties ſhall agree; and will be but like taking ſo much by advance, upon account of a greater debt. So that I am apt to conclude, from all theſe obſervations, that they who influence our merchants in this proſecution, either have no meaning

this

this treaty ſhould end fairly, and ſo they put it obſtinately upon that ſingle point, and in that form which they know will never be granted; or elſe they aim at gaining an occaſion of raiſing new diſputes with the Dutch, whenever they find a conjuncture for it; there ſeeming ſome reaſon for the Dutch opinion, that agreeing upon an article as ours propoſe it, we may fall into new conteſts upon the extent and interpretation of it whenever we pleaſe. If this laſt end be in the bottom of this buſineſs, and it be taken up or countenanced by his majeſty or his miniſters, upon reaſon of ſtate, and we make our proviſions, and take all our meaſures accordingly; for ought I know it is a wiſe, and may prove an honourable counſel in time, at leaſt if the preſent ſtate of affairs in Chriſtendom ſhould change by any ſudden or unexpected revolution. But if our merchants, or thoſe who influence them in this matter, mean no ſuch thing as a concluſion of the treaty; but only by the depending of ſuch diſputes to leave an unkindneſs and weakneſs in our alliance, which may in time ſhake the foundations of it, and make way for new meaſures on one ſide or other, which will in time prove deſtructive to both; I cannot but interpret this as the effect of their diſtaſte or envy at the king's preſent miniſtry, and the courſe of his counſels, which have not gained greater honour abroad, nor perhaps ſafety and good-will at home, by any thing, than by our late alliances ſo renowned here, and thereby the ſtop we have given to the progreſs of the French greatneſs. And therefore it muſt come from the influence of ſome, who would be glad to ſee not only our alliance ſhaken or changed abroad, but our miniſtry at home too; which I ſhall be ſorry to ſee, till the king can find better hands for himſelf and the kingdom to place it in: and whenever that happens, as much as I am your lordſhip's ſervant, I ſhall be very well contented, and ſo I dare ſay will you too.

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If your lordship should imagine any particular envy or pique at me or my employment here may have contributed to the difficulties which have succeeded in this business; and that our merchants, or those that influence them, believe it would thrive better in any other hand, I will beg of you not to be swayed by considerations of kindness to me in a matter of public concernment; nor to fear, that whenever this employment falls you shall be troubled with me at home, as great ministers use to be with men out of office: for while the king's business goes well, it is not two straws matter whether such a body as I have any share in it or no.

And there is an end of all the reflexions I have had upon the most troublesome and untoward business that, I thank God, I ever had in my life, or, I hope, shall ever have again: and perhaps I am mistaken in them all. However, if your lordship can pardon this, you shall be sure not to be troubled in haste with any more of it from, my lord, yours, *&c.*

## *To my lord Arlington.*

My Lord, Hague, Aug. 7, N. S. 1669.

I Was very glad to find your lordship, in your last, upon your journey into the country, because I very much doubt whether the exercise or diversions you usually allow yourself, are what your health requires, and what your cares and troubles deserve I am sure, in the prospect I have of them, I am so far from envying them with all their gay circumstances, that I think your lordship has a very hard bargain of them altogether; unless it be one day made up to you by the glory and satisfaction of some great success in the pursuit you intend of his majesty's and the kingdom's honour, safety, and happiness; which I doubt will need some stronger counsels than men seem at present disposed to: but this is none of my business.

I cannot give your lordſhip any account of what you ſay is made a great matter of by ſomebody to a private hand, about the difficulties intended by Spain in the two laſt Swediſh payments, with deſign of making new demands: I am only in pain at preſent to ſee the firſt payment finiſhed, which is not yet arrived, but expected by the firſt courier. When that is done, and the guaranty delivered by Sweden, as well as us and Holland, I ſhall be in no great fear beſides that of the Spaniſh king's death, or of Spain falling into ſome agreement or other with France for the exchange of Flanders, by ſeeing ſo great a war ſtill entailed upon it, and their neighbours unwilling to ſhare ſo far in their dangers, as perhaps it were our and the Dutch intereſt to do. I am ſure in the preſent poſture of that monarchy, if I were of their council, I ſhould be of advice to do it whenever France would be content upon it to quit all pretence to the reſt of the Spaniſh dominions: and perhaps it were wiſe for France to get Flanders by that or any other quiet condition: for within two years after he were well poſſeſſed of that little ſpot of ground I doubt no prince or ſtate in Chriſtendom would pretend to diſpute any more with him then, than the Spaniard does now. But theſe are events to be conſidered by men in greater ſpheres than I am, and perhaps deſerve to be a little more thought on than they are.

I have received and returned a viſit with the French ambaſſador; ſo that we are upon as good terms as can be. My lord Culpepper paſſed this way laſt week; and upon that occaſion I cannot but deſire your lordſhip to let me know more particularly from you, how I am to treat any Engliſh lord as to the *hand* and *door* in my own houſe: for though the French example is given me, as to all public miniſters, yet there is nothing ſpecified as to other perſons; and if I am to follow it in this and other particulars, I deſire to have ſome-

thing

thing from his majesty's positive commands to bear me out, as the French ambassadors have, and as methinks the case deserves: since I am told, the innovation began in monsieur Cominges's time in England, and that, before the orders he received in it, he gave the hand to all gentlemen of quality in England, and to all persons of great quality or families, though of his own nation: and that my lord St. Albans ever gave it to all English lords while he was ambassador at Paris: though it seems my lord Holles changed it upon the French ambassador's doing so in England.

I know not what my father said to your lordship concerning the trifle you mention in the end of your letter: and I am sure you might very well have spared yourself the trouble of taking notice of it; as I may do of giving your lordship any farther assurances of what will never fail you; which is the hearty passion and truth wherewith I am and ever shall be, my lord, your lordship's, *&c.*

## *To Sir Charles Wolsely.*

SIR, Hague, Aug. 10, N. S. 1669.

I Received some time since the favour of a letter from you of May 9th; but hearing by your son that you had soon after left the town, and finding how ill fortune one of mine had met with in lying five or six months before it came to your hands, I omitted the acknowledging yours till I might presume on finding you sooner by my father's conveyance, to whose care I have committed this, upon information of his journey by your house into Ireland. Were it not for acquitting my debt, and assuring you of your son's health, and welcome here while it may be any ease to you or improvement to him, I should have little to bear me out in giving you this trouble: for the return of your compliments would but multiply them between us; and that is a sort of exercise in which I am

ſoon out of breath, as having but a ſmall ſtock of thoſe more refined imaginations which are required to make up any great abilities in that kind. Therefore I ſhall end an empty ill letter as ſoon as I can; but not without the profeſſions of my being, ſir, your moſt humble ſervant.

*To the Spaniſh ambaſſador.*

Hague, Aug. 13, N. S. 1669.

My Lord,

I Was in hopes the affair now under debate could have met with no reply to what I writ yeſterday to your excellency: but having obſerved the contrary by yours of this evening, I am obliged to ſay, that I thought, upon our laſt conference, I had left your excellency entirely perſuaded, that the conſtable was in the wrong to raiſe a difficulty about the firſt payment upon the concert propoſed, becauſe there was no mention of it in the act ſigned by your excellency. I ſhall ſay farther, that you have reaſon at preſent, if in that act you ſhall find (either expreſſed or implied) theſe words of the guaranty, *Y los inſtrumentos neceſſarios dependientes de ella.* If theſe words are not there, the party contracting cannot bring them in by any interpretation of his own, without conſent of the other party, or ſentence of ſome arbitrator: beſides, that this of the concert does

A l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne.

*De la Haye, le 13 Monſieur, Août, S. N. 1669.*

*J'Avois eſperé que l'affaire dont il s'agit à preſent ne trouveroit plus d'obſtacles, & qu'il n'y auroit point de replique à ce que j'écrivis hier à V. E. Mais comme j'ay vû le contraire par votre lettre écrite ce ſoir même, je me crois obligé de dire, qu'il m'avoit paru que le fruit de nôtre derniere conference avoit été de laiſſer V. E. pleinement perſuadée, que le connétable de Caſtille avoit tort de ſuſciter une difficulté touchant le premier payement ſur le concert propoſé, puiſqu' il n'en eſt point fait mention dans l'acte ſigné par V. E. J'ajouteray à cela, que vous auriez aujourdhuy raiſon, ſi dans cet acte vous trouviez ou exprimés ou ſouſentendus les mots de guarantie,* Y los inſtrumentos neceſſarios dependientes de ella. *Si pareils mots n'y ſont pas, un des partis contractans ne peut pas les y faire entrer par une interpretation de ſa façon, à moins que le conſentement de l'autre parti intervienne, ou que de*

*part*

does not abſolutely or of neceſſity import any thing to the ſecurity of the guaranty: for, provided we execute it as the wants of Spain require, it is of no importance whether it be done with ſuch or ſuch a number of troops, either of one or the other nation, ſince that is to be concerted according to the different intereſts or conveniences of each party: and it may happen that the attack from France may be ſo powerful, that it will be neceſſary for each of us to aſſiſt you with all the forces we can raiſe or equip, according to the general guaranty, and not according to any concert of forces ſpecified in the treaty.

I do not accuſe Spain of any want of ſincerity in all this affair, but only of readineſs and freeneſs to conſent to, and accompliſh what was abſolutely neceſſary for engaging Sweden in the preſervation of the peace. And on the other ſide, your excellency cannot accuſe the ſincerity of the king my maſter; who at the loweſt of your affairs, and when Flanders was deſperate, gave the firſt helping hand (when the princes neareſt allied to the crown of Spain would have nothing

*part & d'autre on convienne de s'en rapporter à la deciſion d'un arbitre; ſans conter que celuy de concert luy-même n'importe point abſolument ni neceſſairement à la ſecurité de la guarantie: car pourvû que nous l'executions ſelon le beſoin des affaires d'Eſpagne, il importera peu qu'avec un tel ou un tel nombre de troupes, ou que ces troupes appartiennent à une des deux nations plutôt qu'à l'autre; car ſi l'on doit agir de concert c'eſt ſelon les divers interêts & les differentes commodités de chacune des parties. Et même il peut arriver, que les invaſions & les attaques de la France ſeroient ſi redoubtables, qu'il ſera neceſſaire que chacun de nous raſſemble tout ce qu'il peut de forces ſur pied, ayant égard à l'intention de la guarantie en general, & non à quelques cas particuliers ſpecifiés dans le traité.*

*Je n'accuſe pas l'Eſpagne d'avoir manqué de ſincerité dans tout le cours de cette affaire, mais d'avoir manqué de promptitude & franchiſe à accomplir ce qui leur étoit abſolument neceſſaire pour engager la Suede dans la conſervation de la paix; ſur cela je diray auſſi à V. E. qu'elle ne peut pas accuſer la ſincerité du roy mon maître; lors que l'état de vos affaires étoit le plus deploré, & que tous les païs-bas étoient comme au deſeſpoir, il a le premier mis la main à l'ouvrage (quand les princes les*

nothing to do in it) contracted his alliances laſt winter, ſent a fleet to ſea the ſummer following, ſent ambaſſadors to Aix la Chapelle, founded the triple alliance, and ſollicited other princes to join in it: and all this only to begin and procure a peace, wherein neither his dominions nor people were concerned; nor (with permiſſion of great reaſoners) had any proſpect of future dangers, but what would concern the empire and all the reſt of Chriſtendom, before his majeſty or his kingdoms could be expoſed to it.

*plus proches de la couronne d'Eſpagne n'y vouloient pas toucher) tout l'hyver dernier ſa majeſté a employé à fair traiter ſes alliances, & à faire équiper une flote qui a paru en mer; l'été ſuivante il a envoyé ſes ambaſſadeurs à Aix la Chapelle, il a cementé la triple alliance, & fait ſoliciter divers princes de s'y joindre en plus grand nombre: tout cela dans la veue d'acheminer & de procurer une paix, qui ne rendoit rien à ſes états ni à ſes peuples, puiſque les uns & les autres étoient à couvert des ravages de la guerre. Car malgré tout ce qu'il plait aux grands diſcoureurs d'inſinuer & de publier, les dangers qui menacent l'Angleterre, & que la politique a dû prévoir, ces dangers regardoient & l'empire en particulier, & tout la chretienté en géneral de plus près que ſa majeſté & ſes royaumes.*

For what your excellency deſires to know, why monſieur Marechal having ſaid, there would be no difficulty in concluding and ratifying the concert, there ſhould notwithſtanding prove to be any in doing it at preſent; I will tell you, that the two miniſters of Sweden, in all that has paſſed between us, have not only ſaid, but ſtill perſiſt, that they were ready to enter into the ſaid concert, and intended to do ſo before monſieur Marechal goes from hence (upon which

*V. E. demande, pourquoy monſieur Marechal ayant dit qu'il n'y auroit aucune difficulté à conclure & à ratifier le concert, il s'y en trouve pourtant aujourdhuy; je vous diray ſur cela, que les deux miniſtres de Suede ſur tous les points diſcutés entre eux & nous non ſeulement nous ont dit, mais ils perſiſtent toujours à dire, qu'ils étoient prêts à entrer dans le dit concert, qu'ils avoient méme prétendu le faire avant le départ de monſieur Marechal, quelque preſsé qu'il paroiſſe; que leur*

*penſée*

which however he is extremely preſſed) but that they never intended to enter into it before the payment of the firſt ſubſidies, which ought to have been made upon the mutual delivery of the ratification; ſaying withal, that they would never allow that this money ought to paſs for payment of the particular aids they were to give Spain by virtue of the triple alliance. I have always found them ſo ſtiff upon that point, that I have been a long time in deſpair of overcoming their nicety: it remains therefore to Spain to conſider whether the guaranty of three ſuch powers be worth giving this little ſatisfaction to Sweden; and whether it would not be more to the purpoſe, when the ſecond term expires to preſs us then upon the concert, if you ſhall not ſee it finiſhed: but by all means to procure as ſoon as poſſible, that the general guaranty be put into your hands: and I do not doubt, but according to the diſpoſitions I ſee on all ſides, that the concert will quickly follow, though your excellency ſhould no more concern yourſelf with urging us to what we are drawn by the intereſt of every particular party as well as the public.

I wiſh your excellency health and happineſs; and am, &c.

*pensée n'a jamais été d'attendre à faire cette demarche, que le payement des premiers ſubſides, fixé au tems que l'échange de la ratification ſeroit delivrée. Ils ajoutent à cela, qu'ils ne conſentiront jamais, que cet argent puiſſe paſſer pour le prix & la recompenſe qu'ils s'engageroient de donner à l'Eſpagne en vertu de la triple alliance. Je les ay trouvés ſi roids ſur cet article, que j'ay deſeſperé il y a longtems de vaincre leur delicateſſe. Il reſte donc pour l'Eſpagne à examiner & à bien peſer, ſi la guarantie de trois puiſſances telles que celles qui ſe preſentent, ne vout pas bien qu'on cede à la Suede la legère ſatisfaction qu'elle demande. Je voudrois que l'Eſpagne conſiderât, s'il ne ſeroit pas plus à propos d'attendre à nous preſſer ſur le concert, que le terme du ſecond payement fût écheu, ſi tout n'étoit entierement conclu; mais en tout cas de procurer au plutôt que la guarantie générale vous ſoit miſe en mains. Je ne doute pas, veu les diſpoſitions où je trouve tous les eſprits, que le concert ne ſuive immediatement, & ſans que V. E. ait la peine de nous preſſer davantage: en cette rencontre nôtre propre interêt ſe trouve joint à celuy du publique.*

*Je ſouhaite à V. E. la ſanté & la proſperité qu'elle deſire; & ſuis,* &c.

*To the Spaniſh ambaſſador.*

Hague, Aug. 14,
My Lord, N. S. 1669.

I Received your excellency's letter laſt night, as I was making my diſpatches for England, in which I immediately encloſed it, that the king my maſter may ſee in what this affair has ended. For the complaints your excellency is pleaſed to make of me, as having hindered inſtead of advancing an agreement ſo much deſired; I ſhall not defend myſelf with words, if my actions have not done it; nor think myſelf obliged, whatever has paſſed in this affair, to give account of it to any body but the king my maſter. I am not the firſt miniſter, whoſe ſervices to Spain have had no returns but of reproach and ingratitude, which I ſhall not lay to heart, ſince our part is only to obey. However, I cannot but think it had been more prudence in the Spaniſh miniſters to acknowledge all the king my maſter has treated and done for 18 months paſt in favour of that crown, than to accuſe his majeſty upon every occaſion, either to have done nothing, or only what he found convenient to himſelf: ſince the true way of engaging a generous mind in new obligations, is to be thankful for

Al Ambaxador de Eſpanna.

De la Haya, Aug.
Ex^mo. Sen^r. 14, S. N. 1669.

*A Noche recebi la de V. E. ſtandome en mis diſpachos para la Inglatiera, en los quales la he luego encerrado, para que vea el rey mi ſennor en que punto a parado eſte negocio. Por lo que ſe va V. E. quexando de mi, como el que atraſava el concierto tan deſſeado, en lugar de encaminarlo; yo ne me voy defendiendo con razones, ſi las obras no me defienden. Sea lo que fuera de mi, que no tengo de reſponder a ninguno de lo que hago en eſta materia, ſi no al rey mi ſennor, y no ſoy yo el primero miniſtro a quien avien-do bien merecido de Eſpanna, ſe lo reconoce con deſagradecerle todos ſus officios; pero no importa, porque no tenemos nos-otros otra parte en los negocios, ſi no de obediencia. A lo menos me pareçe que los miniſtros de Eſpanna hizieran mas prudentemente de agradecer al rey mi ſennor, loque ha negociado y obrado deſpues de anno y medio paſſados en favor de las coſas de eſta corona, que no de accuſar ſu mageſtad a cada punto, o de no haver hecho nada, o averlo todo hecho por ſu propria convenientia; porque el verdadero medio para empennar un eſpiritu generoſo en nuevos beneficios, es agradecerle algo de los paſſados, y mas preſte agran-*

*decer*

for the old, and rather encreaſe than leſſen what a king and a friend has done, at leaſt with ſo much deſire of ſucceeding well.

Since your excellency is pleaſed to give ſo wrong a turn to what I writ with ſo good intentions, I will ſay nothing to excuſe it, but ſtill repeat what I ſaid before; that to me it ſeems more reaſonable that you ſhould preſs the Swediſh miniſters upon this agreement, if you think the time of the ſecond ſubſidies not yet run out: becauſe it is plain, that the firſt payment (by your own act) was to be made upon the ſigning the ratifications of the guaranty, without any other condition; and there being three diſtinct acts from the three parties, your excellency has very artificially made mention both of that of the guaranty, and the other of concert, whereas that of the guaranty ought only to be given to Spain; and that of concert, but communicated as an agreement between the three parties entered into the triple alliance. With all this, your excellency may ſee, that when I ſaid this, I told you at the ſame time, that there was no doubt, after having given the guaranty, and that the Swedes had received their firſt payment, the agreement would be concerted too: and this I ſtill believe

*decer que no yr ſiempre diſminuyenod, lo que un rey amigo a hecho a la menos con buena voluntad.*

*Pueſque V. E. ſe guſta de tomar a tuerto loque yo he eſcritto a derecho, yo no le he de impedir, pero me voy rediziendo, que a mi pareçer tuviera mas razon de appretar los miniſtros de Suecia ſobre eſte concierto, ſi vcyra que no ſe havra acabado al ſegundo termino de los ſubſidios; porque es coſa evidente por ſu proprio acto, que el primero pagamiento ſe ha de cumplir con la extradition de las ratificationes de la guarencia ſin otra condicion; y que ſiendo tres actos diſtinctos de las tres partes, por eſto V. E. a hecho mencion de los actos de guarentia, y otro de concierto como V. E. va concluyendo aora con mucha agudeza, porque el acto de concierto no ſe devia dar a la Eſpanna como el de la guarentia, ſi no communicarla ſolamente como un accuerdo entre las partes de la triple alliança. Con todo eſta muy bien pudiera ver V. E. que en diziendo eſto he dicho tan bien que no havia duda, que deſpues de haver dado las guarentias, y recebido la Suecia el dinero del primero termino, ſe acabara el concierto, y lo creo tan*

*bien*

lieve from the intereſt the Swedes have in it, to ſecure the other payments; and Holland yet more either to preſerve the peace, or in caſe a war ſhould happen, to ſecure a ſtrong and powerful defence from Flanders, which, next to their own towns, is what they are neareſt concerned in. I muſt repeat again what I ſaid of his majeſty, that if the Swedes and the Dutch can find the way of agreeing this affair, it will never be laid to the king my maſter's charge if they do not ſee a good end of it. But I have entered deep enough into the thoughts of the Swedes upon this point, to be abſolutely of opinion, that they will never conſent to the agreement, till they have received their firſt payment. Monſieur Marechal having only heard ſome expreſſion of your excellency's upon this affair, came immediately to deſire I would go to you, and inform myſelf of the truth of it, and bring a poſitive anſwer from you; ſwearing, that if this were your reſolution, the Swedes could very well content themſelves without the money: and that for his part, he was reſolved to leave the Hague to-morrow; and about four or five days ago, monſieur Appleboom ſent his ſecretary to tell me, he had heard ſomething to this purpoſe, of your excellency;

*bien porque veo a la Suecia intereſſada en ello por aſſeguarſe de los otros terminos, y tan bien por lo que eſpera en ſuccediendo la guerra y la Olanda ſta aun mas intereſſada para aſſegurar tanto mas la paz, o en caſo de guerra une fuerte y baſtante defenſa del pays, baxo como tocando les muy apretadamente y mas que otra coſa deſpues de ſus proprias villas. Y lo que he dicho del rey mi ſennor, lo digo otra vez que accordando ſe la Suecia y la Olanda en las particularidades del concierto, no tendra a ſu mageſtad de no accobarlo. Pero aviendome yo harto eſcudrinnado los ſentimentos de los Suecos en eſte negocio, ſoy enteramente del pareçer que nunca han de tocar al concierto antes de haver recebido el primero termino; porque el ſennor Marechal aviendo entendido ſolamente alguna coſita que V. E. avia dicho a eſte propoſito, me venia luego ſupplicar de yr me a V. E. di informar me dello, y tirar una reſpueſta caregorica ſobra eſta materia; jurando tal fueſſa la reſolution de V. E. que la Suecia ſe paſſaria muy bien del dinero; y que para el ſtava determinado de ſalir la mannana de la Haya. Y no ay mas que quatro o cinco dias que el ſennor Appleboom me ha empiado ſu ſecretario para quexarſe de la miſma manera di haver la ſegunda vez entendido tal coſa de V. E. en ello. Pero ſi puede diſponer*

excellency; and to complain of it. But if you can otherwiſe diſpoſe both the Swedes and the Dutch, as to me it ſeems by your letter you imagine, I ſhall extremely rejoice at your ſucceſs, and applaud your diligence, though you are ſo little pleaſed with mine.

I cannot tell how I came to engage ſo far in a language I know ſo imperfectly: if you do underſtand me, it is all I deſire. God preſerve your excellency many years. I kiſs your excellency's hands, and am

*y los Suecos y los Olandezes de otra manera (como me pareçe immaginar en ſu carta) para mi me huelgare de ſu ſucceſſo, y mucho he de alabar ſus diligentias, aunque tam poco ſe contenta de las mias.*

*No ſe como me he empannado tan adelante en mi geregonça de Eſpannol. V. E. le ha de pardonnar, con que le hecha de entender, baſta, Guarde Dios a V. E. los annos que la deſſeo.*

Your moſt humble ſervant, B. L. M. D. V. E. &c.

Aouſt, . . . . 1669.

## Sentence donnee ſur l'affaire de Portugal & de la Hollande, par l'ambaſſadeur de l'Angleterre, à qui les deux parties avoient remis la deciſion finale de leurs differences, non pas comme ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre, mais comme Chevalier Temple.

*MOnſieur l'ambaſſadeur de Portugal & monſieur le penſionnaire de Witt ayant trouvé à propos de communiquer à l'ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre les points qui ont eſté ſi longtems en diſpute ſur l'accommodement propoſé entre le Portugal & la Hollande;*

*Le dit ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre a trouvé ſur la premiere conference avec les deux parties, que la principale difficulté qui reſtoit à deméler, eſtoit ſur la maniere de faire les deux millions cinq cent mille cruzados qui eſtoient accordés par le Portugal à la Hollande, payable à dix payements égaux; c'eſt à dire, deux cent mille cruzados par an.*

Le

*Le dit ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre avoit auſſi remarqué, dans la meſme conference, que les deux parties eſtoient d'accord que leſdits payements ſe feroient par les droits du ſel de Setuval, & qu'à cet effet chacun d'eux avoit proposé ſon expedient, par lequel ledit ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre voyoit que monſieur l'ambaſſadeur de Portugal ſe propoſoit que leſdits payements entiers ſe feroient par l'aſſignation deſdits droits du ſel de Setuval pour le terme de dixſept ou dixhuit ans: et que monſieur le penſionnaire de Witt ſe faiſoit fort que ladite debte ſe pourroit entierement ſatisfaire ſelon ſon expedient par leſdits droits au ſel de Setuval dans le terme de vingt & deux, ou vingt & trois ans.*

*Le dit ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre ayant auſſi remarqué que l'accommodement ſur aucun deſdits expedients eſtoit deſeſperé pour les difficultez ſur la maniere de payer les intereſts, dont les deux parties ne pouvoient aucunement venir au bout, a trouvé bon de propoſer comme un expedient entre deux, que le Portugal aſſigneroit à la Hollande les droits du ſel de Setuval pour l'eſpace de vingt ans en ſatisfaction entiere de ladite debte, ſi le Portugal ne trouvoit pas que la Hollande eut receu ſa ſatisfaction entiere en moindre tems; & qu'en tel cas ledit terme ſeroit retranché après telle ſatisfaction achevée.*

*Le dit ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre ayant proposé cet expedient à chacun des deux parties, monſieur l'ambaſſadeur de Portugal a pris du tems pour le conſiderer; & monſieur le penſionnaire l'a accepté ſur la condition ſuivante, ſçavoir, ſi dans aucune année dudit terme, leſdits droits du ſel de Setuval ne monteront pas à la valeur de cent cinquante mille cruzados, qu'en ce cas le Portugal dans l'année ſuivante ſupplera en ſel valeur de ce qu'on trouvera avoir manqué à ladite l'année précedente: et à fin que les payements ſe pourroient parachever en moindre temps, le Portugal s'obligeroit de ne hauſſer pas le prix du ſel pour le Hollandois, ni de l'abaiſſer pour les autres.*

*Le dit ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre ayant communiqué le meſme ſoir à l'ambaſſadeur de Portugal ladite acceptation ſous la condition mentionnée, il s'accorda à l'expedient de*

*l'ambaſſadeur*

*l'ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre, & auſſi à la condition du penſionnaire, pour ce qui eſtoit de ni hauſſer ni abaiſſer le prix du ſel : mais pour l'autre partie de la condition, il la refuſoit entierement, à cauſe que la Hollande, eſtant aſſeurée par la de recevoir en ſel tout ce qui manqueroit chaque année ſur les droits du ſel à l'accompliſſement de cent cinquante mille cruzados, ſe pouvoit departir de tirer dudit Setuval ſi grande quantité du ſel, qu'elle eſtoit accoutumée de tirer chaque année par le paſſé ; & que par là le royaume de Portugal ſe trouveroit appauvri à faut dudit debit ordinaire du ſel, & le prince ſe trouveroit chargé d'autant qu'il plairoit à la Hollande ſur les manquements des droits annuels.*

*Sur ces entrefaits les deux parties eſtant entrées encore dans une conference avec l'ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre, & ne s'y pouvant pas accorder non plus que dans la précedente, ſur aucun des expedients proposés, ils ont a la fin trouvé bon de convenir enſemble que la deciſion finale de toute cette diſpute ſe feroit par l'arbitrage abſolu dudit ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre, pourveu que l'ambaſſadeur de Portugal conſentiroit que la valeur du ſel ſe regleroit entierement par les cruzados, ſans aucun egard a la valeur des reys ſur laquelle il y a eu auſſi beaucoup de contraverſe entre les deux parties.*

*En vertu de cette convention, ledit ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre ayant meurement conſideré tout ce que deſſus, & auſſi l'intereſt de ces deux nations, auſſi bien que de leurs voiſins & alliez, que cette affaire ſi longtems debattue, ſe puiſſe enfin terminer à l'aimable, & ne tirer pas aigreur entre les deux nations par des diſputes ulterieures ; declare & juge que le premier expedient proposé par ledit ambaſſadeur touchant les vingt années ayant eſte d'ja accepté par les deux parties, demeurera firme & valable avec ces conditions, que la Hollande ſera obligée de tirer de Setuval toutes les années durant ledit terme, autant de ſel qu'elle a tiré dans aucune des dix années dernierement paſsées : mais qu'en cas que par ledit debit du ſel, les droits à Setuval ne monteront pas pourtant juſques à cent cinquante mille cruzados dans aucune année dudit terme de vingt ans, que le Portu-*

*gal*

*gal ſuppéelra en ſel l'année ſuivante ce qui aura manqué à ladite ſomme, pourveu que ledit manquement n'excede pas la valeur de trente mille cruzados.*

*Le dit ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre juge auſſi équitable que la Hollande ne pretendra autre ſatisfaction de la debte, hormis leſdits droits du ſel de Setuval pour ledit terme de vingt années.*

*Que la valeur du ſel ſera contée par cruzados, ſans égard à quelque autre monnoye, puiſqu'il n'y a eu mention dans le traité d'aucune autre eſpèce.*

*Et qu'en cas que Portugal trouvera à propos de decharger quelque part de la debte par quelque autre moyen, la Hollande retranchera auſſi ledit terme en proportion.*

## *To my lord Arlington.*

My Lord, Hague, Sept. 2, N. S. 1669.

HAving received his majeſty's letter to the conſtable from your lordſhip's hands, I thought it was fit for me to return his anſwer by the ſame way: and, that not having matter enough to furniſh two letters this ordinary, your lordſhip would be content to receive the whole trouble of what I have to ſay, ſince you were of courſe to have a part of it.

I received at the ſame time with this of his majeſty the other for myſelf; and the ſame expreſs brought another for the States; I doubt, all in the ſame ſtyle; by which your lordſhip will underſtand the ill ſtate of our general buſineſs here. Monſieur Marechal came yeſterday to viſit me, and told me, his errand was to know whether I could propoſe any new way of drawing their ſatisfaction from Spain; if not, whether I would give any hopes of their having it from his majeſty and the States: and if neither of theſe, what I could propoſe as the beſt way [b] *pour ſortir de cette affaire*

[b] *To get out of this affair with the beſt grace, and without too much noiſe.*

de

*de la meilleure grace, & ſans trop de bruit:* I told him, for the firſt, I was at an end of my own invention, but ſhould not fail however of conſulting with the Dutch commiſſioners, whom I had not ſeen ſince our anſwer from the conſtable. For the ſecond, I knew he was ſo ſenſible of Sweden's having no right to demand of us more than our good offices in this particular, that he would never think fit to preſs us any farther; and thoſe he ſhould not fail of. For the laſt, it was a point I was very loth to think of; but when it was neceſſary, I would join with him in that conſideration, but would fain believe the affair was not yet deſperate. He fell into great complaints of the Spaniſh miniſters here, and of their laying ſeveral diſcourſes to his charge which he never made; particularly of their being willing to take a verbal engagement from Spain for thirty thouſand crowns a month in time of war; which he proteſted was contrary to his orders, that were, to ſtand firmly upon having aſſurance for the whole ſixty thouſand pretended from his majeſty and the States, and leave us to find our ſecurity from Spain, with whom they had not had any thing to do in the whole buſineſs: but he ſaid, he would tell me in confidence, that they had repreſented the impoſſibility of this pretenſion to their court, and the neceſſity of taking the aſſurances for thirty thouſand from Spain; and expect anſwer upon this point by the very firſt letters: and in caſe of their court's conſenting to it, he was in hopes all difficulties would be overcome; for we might finiſh the concert before the payment of the money, and give the Spaniſh miniſters aſſurance of our ſigning it ſuddenly after: and though Holland had hitherto declared againſt aſſuring any part of the ſixty thouſand crowns without real ſecurity from Spain, yet his majeſty having reſolved to aſſure Sweden of his part, Holland could not avoid following his meaſure and example.

I eaſily perceived the firſt part of this diſcourſe was brought in only to uſher the laſt; and to ſound me about his majeſty's intention in this point: and ſo I told him, I did not remember to have heard his majeſty had ever declared any ſuch reſolution: That there were indeed ſeveral projects, framed by ſeveral hands about that time, ſome of which contained what he ſaid: but I aſked him whether he had ever ſeen any of them ſigned? He confeſſed he had not, but their court ever looked upon it as a thing agreed to by his majeſty. I ſaid I wondered at it, becauſe they could not but conſider his majeſty as very little more concerned in this affair than themſelves: and being ſo, it would be very hard for him to engage in the defence of Spain without any hopes of reimburſement for his own part; and withal to furniſh Sweden with ſo great a ſhare of the ſubſidies they expected upon a bare promiſe from Spain of repaying it after the war ended. That, for my part, having not then been in England, I would not affirm, his majeſty had not agreed to it, becauſe he ſeemed to affirm he had: but if he had not, I thought it would be a very hard thing to expect it from him. He replied; he would not diſpute whether it were hard or no, but was ſure, in Sweden they made no manner of doubt upon it; and, that in his inſtruction, which mentions their ſolliciting our and Holland's aſſuring the whole ſum, there are theſe words, *the king of* England *having conſented to aſſure one fourth part.* That if there were a queſtion upon this, though their court ſhould conſent to accept an act from Spain for thirty thouſand, yet he ſaw there would be another difficulty leſs ſurmountable than all the reſt; and ſo looked upon the affair as deſperate. But having frankly communicated to me his inſtructions whenever I deſired it, he entreated me freely to communicate mine to him upon this particular, that they might know what to truſt to. I told him frankly that I had none upon it; that his majeſty, being

being ſo near, had only ordered me, that when they and Holland ſhould be agreed about the particulars of the concert, that I ſhould communicate it to him, and ſhould receive a ſudden anſwer upon it.

We broke up this conference very friendly; reſolving only that I ſhould diſcourſe with monſieur de Witt upon the whole ſtate of our affair, while they expected their next orders from Sweden, after which we ſhould all have a conference together, and take our laſt meaſures.

This day monſieur de Witt came to me upon the ſame occaſion; ſhewing me the Conſtable's letter to the States, which contained nothing more than mine from him, beſides deſiring them to employ their good offices towards the miniſters of England and Sweden for the accompliſhment of this affair. After having aſked me two or three times what I thought was to be done; and I proteſting I knew not; at laſt he ſaid, that though he was never for plaiſtering upon an ill wall, and he was confident, if Sweden truſted to Spain for the thirty thouſand crowns a month, they would never be paid, and ſo their aſſiſtance would fail in caſe of a war unleſs Spain gave ſuch a ſecurity as might certainly raiſe the money; yet conſidering that the very reputation of this buſineſs concluded might very well prevent a war, might hinder Spain's taking their meaſures with France to our diſadvantage, and, in caſe of a war, Sweden's having received the ſubſidies already due would hinder them from taking any meaſures with France, though they ſhould not furniſh their aſſiſtance to Spain for want of the future ſubſidies; for his part, he could wiſh the thing done: and though it had ever been againſt his opinion, yet if his majeſty ſhould think fit to aſſure Sweden of a fourth part, he believed the States would be induced to do the ſame, rather than endanger the breaking of the buſineſs.

After I had deduced to him the great differences there were in his majeſty's concernment and theirs up-

on this matter; and how hard it were for his majesty, that had his seas and fleets to defend him, to contribute in all points as much as they who had the French armies at their gates, so soon as Flanders was over-run: and finding him still firm, as I have done so often before, that this State could never go other than even paces with us in this matter, nor look upon themselves as nearer concerned in the greatness of France than other neighbours, 'till they saw the danger fall directly this way; I at last told him plainly what I had told monsieur Marechal before, concerning my instruction: which he received with his usual temper, and said we must refer all to a conference with the Swedish ministers; and in the mean time each of us should think what expedient is to be found in the case.

Concerning our business of Surinam, I am in great hope yet to come to some good end of it, though they will not hear of it in point of right as to his majesty's intercession; but that it is fit to give his majesty greater testimonies of their deference than in such a matter as this, is already the declared opinion of Mr. V. B. the pensioner of Haerlaem, and some others I have pursued; and monsieur de Witt promises me, if those two will second him, he will endeavour to bring the province of Holland to it, this assembly; and then we may deal with Zealand, I hope, well enough by one way or other. The paper Mr. V. B. has made me expect two or three posts, upon the account of the places we have specified in the Indies, he promises shall not fail me by the next post; and should have come sooner, but that he was resolved to be the most exactly informed that could be in all particulars.

Monsieur de Witt has writ to those of the East-India company at Amsterdam in pursuit of your lordship's letter, and Sir John Worden's desire, concerning one Cary coming over to offer an end of a suit upon the pretensions of Courtin's heir: their answer is, that I

might be ſecure they will give no money for an end of that buſineſs, ſince all farther pretenſions are clearly cut off by the treaty at Breda: and I find monſieur de Witt is of the ſame opinion.

Yeſterday died monſieur Weymenun, a great man in this State, but very little bewailed.

I believe your lordſhip may hear reports of diſcontents growing, and parties changing here: but I doubt it is not in diſcourſe farther than among thoſe that are in the ſkirts of buſineſs; which makes me hope there may be no more ground for all that is ſo laviſhly talked of here; and of the ſame kind among us in England: if it ſhould be otherwiſe, I am at leaſt glad to be ignorant of it, being of ſo much diſreputation abroad to our counſels: and all the perſons in conſideration here, I am ſure, are ſorry for what they hear of it, profeſſing to be as much concerned in our union as their own; and placing all their hopes of taking any conſtant meaſures with us upon the ſteadineſs of his majeſty's late counſels, and the diſpoſitions of our preſent miniſters, before whoſe time monſieur de Witt ſays, [b] *Que ce n'eſtoit que fluctuation dans les conſeils d'Angleterre.* I am, your lordſhip's, *&c.*

*To the Conſtable of Caſtile.*

Hague, Sept. 4,
My Lord, N. S. 1669.

I Sent the other day in the Spaniſh ambaſſador's pacquet, a letter from the king my maſter to your excellency in favour of monſieur Taaf; and am obliged to ſecond that affair by all my good offices, though I hope they will not be neceſſary; and I hope that this gentleman ſhall not be reckoned

Au Connétable de Caſtile.

*De la Haye, le 4 Sept.*
*Monſieur, S. N.* 1669.

*J'Envoyai l'autre jour dans le pacquet de monſieur l'ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne, une lettre du roy mon maitre à V. E. en faveur de monſieur Taaf; je me crois obligé de l'aider de tous mes bons offices, mais je croy qu'ils ne luy ſont pas neceſſaires, & que ce gentilhomme n'en ſera pas jugé moins digne & moins capa-*



[b] *That there was nothing but wavering in the counſels of* England.

koned the leſs capable to ſerve his maſter, for having already well ſerved his friend.

I cannot let paſs this occaſion without repreſenting to your excellency the undoubted neceſſity there is, to give order with all ſpeed for the payment of the 200,000 crowns to the miniſters of Sweden, who have expected them with ſo much patience, and are ready to deliver into the Spaniſh ambaſſador's hands the ratifications of the guaranty, jointly with me and the States General. They aſſure me alſo, that they are ready to enter into a particular concert of forces, as ſoon as this affair is finiſhed; but are reſolved not to mix one with the other; and are ſo ill ſatisfied with ſome difficulties that the Spaniſh ambaſſador has raiſed upon this matter, that I believe it will not be poſſible to keep them here two days longer, if your excellency ſends them an anſwer not according to the act ſigned by the ſaid ambaſſador, and ſince ratified by the king of Spain; that is to ſay, to order the payment of the money upon the mutual delivery of the guaranty. This is what they told me two days ſince; and may perhaps ruin an affair that has been ſo long negotiated, and

*ble de ſervir ſon maître, pour avoir ſi bién ſervi ſon ami.*

*Je ne puis laiſſer paſſer cette occaſion ſans repreſenter à V. E. qu'il eſt d'une neceſſité indiſpenſable d'expedier inceſſamment des ordres pour faire toucher aux miniſtres de Suede les* 200,000 *écus qu'ils ont juſqu'icy attendus avec tant de patience. Ils ſont prêts de deliver entre les mains de l'ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne les ratifications de la guarantie conjointement avec moy & les Etats Géneraux. Ils m'ont auſſi aſſuré qu'ils étoient tout prêts à entrer dans un concert particulier pour fournir un ſecours de forces; que pour cela ils n'attendoient que de voir finir cette premiere affaire; & qu'ils étoient reſolus de ne point mêler l'une avec l'autre. Ils ſont au reſté ſi mal ſatisfaits de quelques difficultez que monſieur l'ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne leur a faites ſur ce premier article, que je ne croy pas qu'il ſoit poſſible de les retenir deux jours icy après que V. E. ſe ſera expliquée ſur cette affaire, & que nous aurons reçu ſa reponſe, ſuppoſé que cette reponſe ne s'accorde pas à l'acte ſigné par le dit ambaſſadeur, & depuis ratifié par le Roi d'Eſpagne, c'eſt à ſçavoir de faire conter l'argent ſur l'extradition de la guarantie. Voilà ce qu'ils m'ont dit de depuis deux jours, & ce qui pourroit bien faire aller en fumée une affaire ſi long tems*

and brought into the port through so many difficulties.

Your excellency will judge better than any body, how you can answer to the court of Spain, and to all Christendom, the loss of so great an occasion for establishing the security of the one, and the repose of the other. For all this depends upon your resolutions, to which the three confederates, as well as so many others, will entirely attribute any misfortune that shall arrive. And as I have not failed since the beginning of this affair to contribute all my cares to it, so I would not be wanting towards the end, to represent the pressing necessity of this conjuncture. It is left to your excellency to make what use of it you please; from whose conduct every one will form presages, good or ill, to the affairs of Spain. I am your excellency's, &c.

*tems negociée, & menée au port à travers tant de difficultez.*

*V. E. sentira mieux que personne, qu'elle se rend responsable & à la couronne d'Espagne, & à toute la Chrêtienté de la perte d'une si grande occasion, qui establissoit la sureté de l'une, & le répos de l'autre. Car, c'est de vos resolutions que tout cela va dependre; & c'est aussi sur elles seules que le trois confederez, ainsi que tant d'autres, vont rejetter les malheurs qui suivront du peu de succès de nos negotiations. Comme dès le commencement je n'ay épargné ni veilles ni soins pour cette grande affaire, je n'ay pas voulu manquer sur la fin à faire une derniere demarche, qui est, de representer à V. E. toute l'importance des conjonctures qui s'offrent encore à nous, mais qui sont prêtes à nous échapper. Ce sera à V. E. à en user comme il luy plaira: on tirera des mesures qu'il va prendre, des présages certains pour le bon ou le mauvais état des affaires d'Espagne. Je suis de V. E. &c.*

## *To my Lord Arlington.*

My Lord, Hague, Oct. 11, N. S. 1669.

I Have this day received your lordship's of the 21st past, and having none by me from Mr. Secretary Trevor, shall presume to return in an answer to your lordship's that little I have to say by this post: for all at present is here at a stand in our business of the alliance; and when it will proceed again, depends wholly

upon his majesty, do what I can. Since the last post the Spanish ambassador, the Baron d'Isola, monsieur Marechal, and monsieur de Witt, have been severally with me to know what I will propose, or what I will consent to for an expedient in this matter. The two first would fain have something from me to work upon, and I entertain them with complaints of the Spanish ill usage towards us, having proposed at London not only to indemnify us in what they projected there concerning his majesty's engaging to the Swede, but likewise a share of his own charge likely to arise upon a war: all which, ever since the peace, they have been content to forget, and now would put us upon a necessity of engaging to advance the Swedish subsidies. I farther represented to the Spanish ambassador the imprudence of their councils in raising this difficulty in the first payment to the Swedes, by the easiness whereof they might have possessed themselves of the guaranty, and thereby entered into confidence with Sweden, secured them from thinking of any other measures, and pursued the finishings of our work, by any particular concerts, without danger or unkindness.

I urged all this so far, that though the Spanish ambassador persisted in affirming that the orders from Spain to the constable, as well as to himself, were positive in the case of not paying the money without the particular concert; yet he at last joined with me very freely in blaming the weakness and unhappiness of the Spanish councils upon these particulars; and wondering how the marquis Castel-Rodrigo could suffer the dispatch of such orders. The next morning the Baron d'Isola came to me, and entertained me with long discourses of what passed between him and the Spanish ambassador in consequence of what I had said the night before: and the sum of all was, as I imagined, to sound me whether I would be induced to enter the concert upon the Spanish ambassador's promising me an indemnity

demnity from Spain for the hundred and fifty thouſand crowns a month inſiſted upon by the Swedes to be ſecured to them from the king. Upon this inſinuation I reſolved to take no hold at all; becauſe if his majeſty ſhould ever reſolve to promiſe the advance of the hundred and fifty thouſand crowns in caſe of a war I thought it would be better truſting to gain his ſatisfaction by negotiating in Spain to that purpoſe, upon the grounds given of ſo many overtures by the Spaniſh miniſters both at London, Bruſſels, and here, than by taking a promiſe or inſtrument here from this ambaſſador (as the Baron ſays) beyond his power, and eſpecially whoſe ſecreſy in it we cannot much reckon upon: whereas the publiſhing any ſuch thing may have ill conſequences of jealouſy between us and the Dutch. Therefore I contented myſelf to tell the Baron, that I was at the end of my line, and could proceed no farther than I had done already: that his majeſty had ordered me to give the guaranty in conjunction with the other confederates, upon payment of two hundred thouſand crowns, according to the Spaniſh ambaſſador's own act: that he thought the Spaniards had no right to preſs us upon the particular concert, which yet he would be ready to conſider of when the confederates thought fit; and in the mean time was very ſincerely reſolved to perform the guaranty if there ſhould be occaſion for it.

Monſieur Marechal preſſed me ſomething harder upon entering into a conference with him and the Dutch deputies, which I promiſed before my laſt, but have excuſed till Monday next, in the mean time to prepare matter for it. He deſired to know if I had yet any powers to promiſe the hundred and fifty thouſand crowns projected at London (as he ever inſiſts to be ſecured by his majeſty) without which he did not ſee any thing to be done here: I told him directly, I had not. He then aſked me to what end we ſhould confer,

ſince without that, the concert could not be framed, nor conſequently the preſent money paid: and complained that the want of this concert was of preſent prejudice to them alone, though it depended equally upon the conſent of the other confederates. I anſwered him, that till I received new orders, he ſhould never find me vary from thoſe I had ſo often told him: which were to ſee firſt in what propoſals Sweden and Holland could agree, and then repreſent it to his majeſty, whoſe anſwer could be of no long delay: and that I ſuppoſe will be the fruit of our conference. He ſaid, he thought they and Holland were agreed upon all points but one, that is, in the number and kind of forces, according to the firſt projected concert, and in Holland's aſſuring them a fourth part of the ſixty thouſand crowns.

That which they differed upon was, that whereas Spain offered a promiſe of the other thirty thouſand crowns, they expected we and Holland ſhould likewiſe warrant that payment, becauſe their engagement for ſixteen thouſand men upon the concert, would be to us and not to Spain, and it was no reaſon, if Spain failed of that payment, they ſhould yet ſtand engaged to us for the whole number of men. I told him, I doubted much that if this point were ſtill between them, they were not very near agreeing: and he ſaid, he would ſpeak with monſieur de Witt once more upon it before the conference. But I doubt this will not hinder them from coming to ſome propoſal to be made his majeſty of ſomething they ſhall agree in. I am, &c.

*To the Prince of Tuſcany.*

Hague, Dec. 5, N. S. 1669.

SIR,

I Should not have deferred the acknowledgments I owe your highneſs for the honour of your letter, if I had not been

Au Prince de Toſcane.

*La Haye, le 5 Dec. N. S. 1669.*

*Monſieur,*

*JE n'aurois pas perdu un moment à marquer la reconnoiſſance que je dois à V. E. de l'honneur quelle m'a fait par ſa lettre,*

been purſued with a great illneſs at the time I received it: and I would not acquit myſelf of this duty by any other hand but my own, becauſe I am ſure there is none ſo pleaſed, or ſo ready to engage in the occaſions of your ſervice. I am extreme glad of your Highneſs's happy arrival at Florence; where I wiſh you all the felicities that ought to be deſtined, as they are due, to ſo great a merit: and I hope, that after the glorious fatigues which have hitherto been the diverſion of your highneſs, you will now find pleaſure in the ſoftneſs of repoſe.

For myſelf, I ſhall never think I am happy till I have paid my reſpects to your highneſs in your own court; and I envy no man at preſent but my lord Falconbridge, who is going on an embaſſy into ſo fine a climate, and among ſuch converſations as thoſe of Italy, where wit and weather are equally clear; while I languiſh in a country where we breathe nothing but miſts, and diſcourſe of nothing but buſineſs.

To confirm this laſt, I cannot end my letter without telling your highneſs, that after ſo

*tre, ſi dans le même tems qu'elle me fût rendue, je n'euſſe été attaqué d'une violente maladie. Je n'ay pas voulu, je l'avouerai, m'acquitter de ce devoir par une maine étrangere, & cela vient de ce qu'il me ſemble, qu'il n'y a que la mienne qui ſente autant de plaiſir, & s'employe avec autant d'affection, dès qu'il eſt queſtion de quelque choſe qui regarde V. A. & ſon ſervice. Je prens beaucoup de part à l'heureuſe arrivée de V. A. à Florence; je ſouhaite qu'elle y goute toutes les proſperitez deues & ſans doute deſtinées à un merite comme le ſien. J'eſpere, qu'après les glorieuſes fatigues qui ont fait juſqu'icy les divertiſſemens de V. A. elle va trouver quelque plaiſir dans les douceurs du répos.*

*Pour moy je ne ſeray jamais content de la fortune, que je n'ay fait la reverence à V. A. dans ſa propre cour; & à l'heure qu'il eſt, le ſeul homme que j'envie dans le monde, c'eſt my lord Falconbridge, que ſon ambaſſade va conduire dans un ſi beau climat, & où il va gouter tous les charmes attachez aux delicates & ſpirituelles converſations d'Italie; il trouvera là les jours & les eſprits également purs & brillans; & pour moy, mon partage eſt de languir dans un païs où l'on ne reſpire que des brouillards, & ou l'on ne fait que parler d'affaires.*

*J'ay deja un peu contracté de ce genie: & pour le prouver à V. A. c'eſt que je ne ſçaurois achever*

so many shocks the triple alliance has born for some time, and so many presages of its death; there is within these two days some appearance of its recovery, unless any unexpected accident should occasion a relapse.

Justice is so essential among the qualities of a great prince, that I will not doubt but your highness does me that of believing me always with equal passion and truth, sir, your highness's, &c.

*achever ma lettre sans luy dire, qu' après tant de secousses que la triple alliance a souffertes depuis quelque tems, & tant de sinistres présages qui ont annoncé sa mort, il y a pourtant depuis deux jours quelque apparence qu'il va revivre à moins qu'un accident inopine ne cause sa rechûte.*

*La justice est une de ces qualitez si essentielles à un grand prince, que je ne veux pas même soupçonner que V. A. me refuse celle de me croire toujours ce que je suis avec tant de passion & de verité,* &c.

## *To the Constable of Castile.*

## Au Connétable de Castile.

Hague, Dec. 5,
My Lord, N. S. 1669.

THough it will be difficult to add any thing to the arguments used in my last letter, and in other memorials sent so frequently to the Spanish ambassador, upon the subject of the payment already due to the crown of Sweden, and so solemnly stipulated by the act of May 9, signed by the said ambassador, and afterwards ratified by the queen regent: however I would not fail in this important conjuncture, to make this last effort to dispose your excellency to the quick execution of a counsel so just and necessary to the repose of Christendom as well as the preservation of Spain; and of such importance to the honour

*De la Haye, le 5 Dec.*
*Monsieur,* *S. N.* 1669.

*QUoyqu'il soit bien difficile d'ajouter quelque chose aux raisons dont je me suis servi dans ma derniere lettre à V. E. & qui d'ailleurs sont repandues & ont été repetées en tant de divers memoires envoyés à monsieur l'embassadeur d'Espagne, touchant le payement déja deu à la couronne de Suede, & si solennement accordé & stipulé par l'acte du 9 de May, qui a été signé par le dit ambassadeur, & ratifié depuis par la reine régente: je n'ay pourtant pas voulu dans une conjoncture si importante negliger de faire un dernier effort, à fin de tacher à disposer V. E. à une prompte execution dans une affaire si juste, si necessaire d'ailleurs au repos de la Chrêtienté, auſſi*

honour of your excellency, who never can defend yourſelf againſt the complaints of having by little ſcruples loſt the ſucceſs of ſo great an affair, and neglected the fruits of an alliance whereof all Chriſtendom hath ſpoke with ſo much applauſe, and hoped from it ſo much felicity.

I do not deſire to importune your excellency by a repetition of things already ſaid; and I have nothing new to add, but the conſideration of monſieur Marechal the miniſter of Sweden's departure, after long impatience, and much diſcontent at the proceedings of Spain in all the negotiations where he has intervened for eight or nine months paſt. Before he went he demanded back from me the act of guaranty ſigned by Sweden, and placed in my hands with the other acts to be conſigned into the hands of the Spaniſh ambaſſador upon payment of the 200000 crowns to Sweden: and in the mean time, he conſented entirely, that I ſhould give back to the ſaid ambaſſador his act of the 9th of May, by which he was obliged to the ſaid payment upon the conſigning of the ſaid guaranties: but

*auſſi bien qu'à la conſervation de Eſpagne; j'ajouteray, ſi importante à l'honneur de V. E. peut être ſera-t-il hors de vôtre pouvoir de parer aux reproches & aux plaintes d'avoir par de petits ſcrupules renoncé au ſuccès d'une ſi grande affaire, & negligé les fruits d'une alliance dont la Chrêtienté a parlé avec de ſi grands applaudiſſemens, & dont elle ſe promettoit tant de joye & de proſperité.*

*Je n'ay pas deſſein d'importuner V. E. par la repetition de choſes déja cent fois dites; & tout ce que je puis ajouter de nouveau, roule ſur le départ de monſieur Marechal, le miniſtre de la Suede, qui après bien de impatiences, après tant de pour parlers inutiles, enfin mécontent de l'Eſpagne autant qu'on le peut être, & ayant ſur le cœur l'inutilité des negotiations où on l'a fait intervenir, & qui ont conſumé neuf mois, preſſe ſon départ, & va tout revéler au roy ſon maître; il me redemande avant ſon retour l'acte de guarantie ſigné par la Suede, & remis entre mes mains avec les autres actes, pour être enſuite depoſé entre les mains de monſieur l'ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne lors que les 200000 écus auront été payés à la couronne de Suede. En même tems il m'a declaré qu'il conſentoit pleinement que l'acte du 9 de May fait par le dit ambaſſadeur, & dans lequel il s'obligeoit au dit payement, ſur la remiſe des guaranties,*

but I uſed all my endeavours to keep the ſaid guaranty of Sweden ſome time longer in my hands, hoping your excellency would yet in a few days acknowledge the obligation and neceſſity of advancing this ſatisfaction to Sweden, ſo long due and demanded. And as yet I have it in my power to deliver the three ſaid guaranties to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, as ſoon us he ſhall have given the ſaid money to the Swediſh reſident here: but if this affair be delayed till monſieur Marechal has repreſented it to the king his maſter, as he was reſolved to do upon his departure; or till the Swediſh miniſter's reſident here ſhall have received an anſwer to the diſpatches they ſent about three weeks ago, upon the ſpight and deſpair they were in at the bad ſucceſs of this affair: in either of theſe caſes, I leave your excellency to judge, whether there will be any hopes that the Swediſh court, ſoured by the ill treatment and angry repreſentations of their miniſters, will then give us

*ties, & lequel acte j'ay auſſi entre les mains; que cet acte, dis je, fût rendu à l'ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne. J'ay fait de grands efforts pour retenir encore quelques jours les dites guaranties entre mes mains, dans l'eſperance que V. E. informée de tout en peu de jours, ſentiroit la juſtice & la neceſſité de ſatisfaire la Suede; il y a longtems que la choſe luy a été promiſe, par conſequent il y a longtems qu'elle luy eſt deue; elle a été ſouvent demandée, elle l'eſt encore aujourdhuy, & à l'heure que j'écris je ſuis en pouvoir de livrer les trois guaranties à monſieur l'ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne, auſſitôt qu'il aura fait mettre l'argent au miniſtre de Sucde, qui eſt encore icy. Mais ſuppoſé que l'affaire ſoit ou negligée ou retardée juſqu'à ce que le miniſtre ait envoyé ſon memoire & ſa relation à la cour de ſon maître, & qu'il l'ait inſtruit de la ſituation où toutes choſes étoient au moment de ſon depart; ſuppoſé même que par les délais on donne le tems aux miniſtres de Suede de recevoir la reponſe aux memoires qu'ils envoyerent il y a trois ſemaines tous remplis du dépit & du deſeſpoir de voir le projet ſe reduire à rien: L'une ou l'autre de ces deux choſes ſuppoſées (& V. E. voit qu'on les peut ſuppoſer toutes deux) il eſt aiſé de juger que la cour de Suede, aigrie de l'Eſpagne par toutes les choſes que ſes miniſtres luy auront repreſentées*

us the means, we poſſeſs at preſent, to finiſh this great work: and how neceſſary it will be to follow the late impreſſions made in that court as ſoon as poſſible, by new ones to their entire ſatisfaction. For as ſoon as Spain ſhall be in poſſeſſion of the guaranties of all the confederates, one may ſay, that not only all the appearances are ſafe, but alſo that the ſubſtance itſelf is finiſhed. And if any forms remain towards the laſt perfection of the work, there muſt be time given to concert them, without hazarding the groſs of the affair.

I deſire your excellency to conſider, that ſuch occaſions as you have at preſent in your hands are not uſually given twice to men, and that they commonly loſe their force by a ſlowneſs in laying hold of them. But I cannot apprehend ſo ſad an effect from the prudence and good intentions of your excellency: at leaſt, I ſhall comfort myſelf that I have done my utmoſt duty towards preventing ſo great a misfortune to Chriſtendom. I am, my lord, your, &c.

*preſentées, ne voudra plus nous continuer le moyen que nous avons encore de finir ce grand ouvrage. V. E. voit donc de quel importance il eſt de pourſuivre les dernieres impreſſions que la Suede a eues juſq' icy, par la nouvelle d'une prompte & entiere concluſion. Car auſſitôt que l'Eſpagne ſera en poſſeſſion des guaranties de tous les confederez, on pourra dire que non ſeulement toutes les apparences ſeront ſauvées, mais qu'on aura même pourvû au fond de la choſe. Que s'il manquoit quelques formalitez à la perfection de cet ouvrage, il ne faudra que du tems; car comme tout ſera diſpoſé à une entiere concluſion, on ajuſtera tout à loiſir, ſans que le gros de l'affaire ſoit en danger.*

*Je prie V. E. de faire reflexion que des circonſtances pareilles à celles que vous avez preſentement comme ſous la main, n'ont pas accoutumé de s'offrir deux fois à une même perſonne; que c'eſt leur laiſſer perdre de leur force, que de differer à s'en ſaiſir. Mais la prudence & les bonnes intentions de V. E. me raſſurent contre la crainte d'un evenement ſi funeſte. J'aurois du moins la conſolation d'un homme qui a fait ſon devoir, & qui n'a rien oublié pour epargner un ſi grand malheur à la Chrêtienté. Je ſuis, &c.*

## *To Mr. Cary.*

SIR, Hague, Decemb. 6, N. S. 1669.

I Very much wonder to hear from Mr. Andros the difficulties you make in delivering the tin according to my laſt order; and that you thereby occaſion ſo much prejudice to the king's ſervice, which I thought you would have advanced all you could, when I writ to you to deſire your care in that buſineſs. But that you may underſtand what you call my commiſſion to you; I will let you know that I had no power to give any orders at all about that matter, but in purſuance of the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury's commands; and therefore new orders being arrived from them by major Andros, they are to be obeyed in what concerns the tin buſineſs. I deſire you once again to comply with him readily in the delivery of the tin, according to the laſt letter wrote you upon that ſubject; and do abſolutely diſown you in all difficulties you ſhall make upon pretence of any order from me: and if you continue to delay it any longer, ſhall upon the firſt notice of it write effectually to the Conſtable to do his majeſty juſtice in it, and me in particular, who neither expected nor deſerved this dealing from you. Your ſervant.

## *To Major Andros.*

SIR, Hague, Decemb. 6, N. S. 1669.

SInce the writing of this I received yours of the 4th, complaining ſtill of Mr. Cary's refuſal to deliver the tin; whereupon I have written him the incloſed letter, which is as much as I can ſay in it: if he continues his impertinence ſtill, I ſuppoſe it will be at his own coſt, ſince your proteſt: and if you will ſend me word what are the ways of proceeding againſt him, I ſhall write either to the Conſtable, or to the governor

of

of Oſtend, or Sir Mark Ognate at Bruges, to favour your diſpatch. I am, ſir, your ſervant.

*To the Prince Regent of Portugal.*

Hague, Dec. 8, N. S. 1669.

SIR,

THough nothing could happen more acceptable to me, than the occaſion which the Portugal ambaſſador lately gave me, not only of promoting the peace ſo much deſired between Portugal and this ſtate, (both friends and confederates of the king my maſter) but alſo of ſhewing ſome little mark of my great devotion for the queen my miſtreſs; yet I confeſs, my ſatisfaction was much encreaſed by your royal highneſs's letter, when I found how acceptable that ſmall ſervice was to you. I do not in the leaſt pretend to deſerve the thanks your royal highneſs is pleaſed to give me, at leaſt, not upon any other account, than that of deſiring by all means to ſeek other and greater occaſions of being ſerviceable to your royal highneſs, and to the affairs of Portugal; and in ſo doing I may have ſome better pretence to your royal highneſs's favour, wherewith you are pleaſed to honour me.

I wiſh your royal highneſs all health, and am, ſir, &c.

Principi Portugalliæ.

*Hagæ Comitis, Dec. 8, N. S.*

*Seren. Princeps,* 1669.

*QUanquam nihil mihi gratius iſtâ occaſione accidere potuiſſet, quam mihi nuper præbuit dominus legatus Portugalliæ, non modò exoptatam utrinque concordiam & finem litium inter Portugalliæ & Fœderati Belgii Status (utroſque regi domino meo amicos adeò & confœderatos) promovendi, ſed & eodem nomine immenſi erga reginam dominam meam obſequii ſaltem exiguum aliquod ſpecimen exhibendi; auctam tamen & cumulatam planè ex literis A. V. R. oblectationem meam fuiſſe confiteor, cum illi tam acceptum extitiſſe iſtud qualecunque officium ſummâ cum voluptate percepiſſem. Ego me autem nec gratias, quas mihi dignata eſt A. V. R. meruiſſe præfero, ſaltem non alio nomine quam ſummi iſtius quo tenear deſiderii alteriores aliquas & majores occaſiones conſequendi, quibus devotiſſimum prorſus in A. V. R. & res Portugalliæ ſtudium meum teſtari potero, benevolentiamque iſtam cujus teſtimonio me tam eximiè ornatum voluit, omni meliore modo demereri.*

*Valeat interim A. V. R. meque ſemper inter præcipuos gloriæ ſuæ cultores, rebuſque ſuis addictiſſimos, æſtimare velit.*

To

## *To Sir John Trevor.*

SIR, Hague, Dec. 10, N. S. 1669.

I Received yeſterday yours of the 23d paſt, together with his majeſty's inſtructions of the 22d; and could have wiſhed Mr. Werden had brought them with him for a reſerve, though not to have been communicated till the laſt minute of his ſtay, and the deſpair of all other trials, for by that means we might have kept the buſineſs entire; whereas now, though it may recover ſome life, yet I much doubt whether it ever can, the ſtrength and health of its firſt conſtitution; for beſides ſo great and ſo many jealouſies as are entered into it on all ſides, I count monſieur Marechal's going away a very ill accident; and can yet make no gueſs how monſieur Appleboome will acquit himſelf whenever we ſhall come to the payment of the ſubſidies, though monſieur Marechal was ſo forward as to make it ſure: but Mr. Werden can tell you how different ſorts of men they are; and for ought I ſee, all buſineſſes depend upon the qualities of the men that manage them; which (conſidering the ill ſucceſs of this) is all I ſhall ſay in anſwer of your compliment to me; that it is in very good hands.

I gave you an account in my laſt, of the bold advance the Dutch had made to the conſtable, of ſigning their part of their concert alone immediately upon the payment of the two hundred thouſand crowns. We expect every day the anſwer to this propoſition; and finding one clauſe of my inſtructions to command the ſuppreſſing them, in caſe I find, either before or after their arrival, that the money would be paid according to the treaty of May laſt, I thought it agreeable to what I conceive of his majeſty's intentions, for me to take no notice of them till I ſee what this return from the conſtable will produce; and in caſe it be followed

lowed by the payment of the money, to expect his majeſty's farther orders before I proceed upon them. If the Conſtable ſtill inſiſt to have the concert jointly ſigned, I ſhall then fall into the conſideration of it with the Swedes and Dutch miniſters, and endeavour to bring it to an iſſue; according to his majeſty's inſtructions, but ſo as not to proſtitute our offer till we have aſſurance that no more difficulties will be made by Spain; nor any changes deſired in that concert which has ſo long been framed, and in which I have not obſerved the leaſt inclination in any of the miniſters here to admit of any alterations. I ſuppoſe it is not his majeſty's intention I ſhould conſent to the concert, but in conjunction with the Swedes as well as the Dutch, in caſe the firſt ſhould not be induced to it, or raiſe new difficulties: and according to this apprehenſion I ſhall proceed. In all which points I am more diſtinct, that you may find whether I underſtand his majeſty's meaning right, and may pleaſe accordingly to inform and direct me: for the paces, as they are much more difficult, ſo they ought to be much more cautious in a miniſter when his inſtructions are numerous and particular, as mine are grown in this affair. And you may be very confident when they are once given they ſhall be punctually obſerved to the beſt that I can underſtand them. And in that itſelf, I thank God, I have not yet failed; and deſire nothing of my maſter and my friends more than that I may be the firſt to hear of it when I do.

I did encloſe the laſt memorial I ſent the States upon the buſineſs of Surinam; and ſpoke with monſieur Van Beuninghen ſince my laſt upon it. He proteſts, that for his part he is of opinion (and ſo are moſt of his province) to give us juſt what we aſk in that matter; but that we muſt excuſe the delays of their conſtitution, when the diſſent of one province makes the reſolutions of all the other lame. He confeſſed, that though Zealand had conſented to what I mentioned in two of my

late letters, yet they had ordered their deputies to delay the concluſion of it for a while; ſo as they had been forced to write once more to convince them of the neceſſity which Holland thought there was to diſpatch it ſpeedily as well as effectually: and he hoped for a ſudden and good anſwer from them.

The miniſters here have been earneſt with me to propoſe to his majeſty, to go the ſame or equal pace with them in laying impoſitions upon the French commodities; which they think would prove the greateſt parſimony that either of us could uſe, and be a greater blow to France than armies could give. And they ſay, in caſe his majeſty ſhould reſolve upon it, they would go as far as he pleaſed in it; whereas without that, they muſt be ſomething tenderer than they would be.

They would fain engage me likewiſe to propoſe to his majeſty their joining with us in equal proportion of ſhips and men for the carrying on a war againſt Algiers: but I ſuppoſe their end is, that they may be comprehended likewiſe in a peace with them, which may perhaps be our fartheſt aim: and ſo I tell them this might have been a welcome propoſal when we began to ſet out our fleet; but can ſignify little now the action ſeems near an end: however, that ſuch things are fitter to be propoſed by their own ambaſſador in England than by me: and I mention them that you may be prepared, in caſe he receive inſtructions to propoſe them there. I am always as becomes me, &c.

## *To Sir John Trevor.*

SIR, Hague, Dec. 13, N. S. 1669.

THough I had liberty given me by your laſt of the 2d paſt, to make uſe of my late inſtructions as ſoon as I pleaſed, the Conſtable's poſitive anſwer having ſatisfied you what we were to expect from thence; yet the advance having ſince been made from the Dutch,

by

by the offer I acquainted you with to the Conſtable, I reſolved ſtill to purſue what I intended in my laſt, in ſuppreſſing wholly this inſtruction till I ſaw the Conſtable's anſwer to the States letter, and what hopes that would furniſh us with of obtaining the payment of the preſent money without engaging his majeſty in the concert before his meaſures were taken more fully with Spain. But yeſterday the Spaniſh ambaſſador came to tell me, that he had received a letter from their agent Fonſeca, which aſſures him that orders were already ſent me to ſign the concert; and that his majeſty told him ſo at the ſame time when he received news of Don Juan de Toledo's death. I told him, the authority was too good to be diſputed; and therefore I confeſſed I had received orders to make a farther advance for the ſatisfaction of Spain and the confederates, than his majeſty had yet thought fit to do, or eſteemed himſelf at all obliged to: but I deſired them to believe there was nothing to give them any the leaſt hopes of his majeſty's charging himſelf with any part of the Swediſh ſubſidies. That if they, and Sweden and Holland, could agree upon that point, ſo as to diſpoſe Sweden to ſign the firſt concert that was propoſed at the ſame time with the guaranty, his majeſty would go very far towards the concluſion of the whole matter. But I aſſured him at the ſame time, that though I were agreed with Sweden and Holland to make him an offer of the concert, yet we would not do any thing towards it till he had powers to conſign the money immediately, without any new diſpatches and difficulties from Bruſſels.

I found the Spaniſh ambaſſador had immediately upon receipt of his letters from England ſent an extract of them to monſieur de Witt, as the baron d'Iſola had done to monſieur Applebome, who were both in pain till they knew the truth from me, and ſent to me to that purpoſe: and knowing the ambaſſador would be

as diligent to inform the Conſtable as them, and conſequently influence any anſwer not already given to the Dutch letter; I reſolved to go and talk with them both upon the buſineſs, and concert with them what courſe to hold in the progreſs of it. I could not get a time of ſpeaking with monſieur de Witt to day, but did with monſieur Applebome; and much to the ſame purpoſe as I had yeſterday to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, but plainer, and in more confidence. All that I could get from him was, that he would read over that firſt concert to day, and conſider whether he could ſign it: that it was true, monſieur Marechal had offered to ſign ſomething like it, but containing in the ſame act the ſecurity of their future ſubſidies, which they were to inſiſt upon before they ſign it. I told him all the difference would be, that whereas they contented themſelves before with Spain's promiſe of one half, to take it now for three parts, if the Spaniards would be perſuaded to it; and they had the ſame ſecurity for one as for the other (which I knew they reckoned upon) of not furniſhing more troops than in proportion to the money they received. He ſeemed a good deal unſatisfied that the Spaniſh ambaſſador had received the advice from England before the anſwer was returned from the Conſtable: for ſince we will make no part of the ſecurity for their future ſubſidies, I find they would very fain touch the two hundred thouſand crowns before they give the concert, which they might then ſell dearer to Spain, or at leaſt make it the price of their ſatisfaction growing due by the two next payments of the four hundred eighty thouſand crowns already due. All ended between us with this promiſe, of acquainting me with his reſolution, ſo ſoon as he had conſidered it, and the propoſal of a conference upon it with monſieur de Witt. I find now the want I always feared of monſieur Marechal, who is not to be retrieved; ſo that

that we muſt make our beſt of what we have, and do all we can to put him out of his pace.

The baron d'Iſola came to me this afternoon; and his buſineſs I found was to perſuade me to ſign monſieur Marechal's projects, and thereby charge his majeſty with the fifteen thouſand crowns to Sweden, but upon a promiſe from the Conſtable, of Spain ſupplying his majeſty with the ſums we ſhould furniſh upon that engagement. But I cut him off ſhort in that and all other expedients; and told him, if his majeſty were induced to ſign the concert, as it was more than they had any reaſon to expect from him, ſo it was all they were to hope in this matter; and therefore I deſired him to reckon upon it, and take their meaſures accordingly. I ſuppoſe by what he ſaid, his intentions are to go away for Bruſſels within a day or two, and bring us a poſitive reſolution of what we are to expect from thence as to the immediate payment, and their promiſe to Sweden of three parts of the future ſubſidies: but he will firſt endeavour to know monſieur Applebome's mind, who will at leaſt be ſtiff in this, that the promiſe be made by Spain to the confederates, and not directly to Sweden.

Since my laſt the Lunenburg envoy came to deſire me, that I would let his majeſty know how much his maſters eſteemed themſelves honoured by the overtures his majeſty made them of entering into an alliance, of which he was the head: that thereupon they had ordered him to attend here ever ſince, in hopes of ſome farther propoſals towards the engaging them in it; but that his maſters hearing no farther from hence, and finding that by the ill poſture of our *triple alliance*, other princes of Germany were ſeeking other meaſures, they had commanded him to return (which he ſhould do about three weeks hence) but firſt to endeavour by my hand to give his majeſty the beſt teſtimonies of their affections to his ſervice, and good intentions towards the ends he had ſo glorioufly engaged in. I pro-

miſed him to perform the meſſage, and employed the reſt of my diſcourſe in convincing him, how much more the princes of Germany were concerned in the defence of Flanders, than his majeſty; and that however, if his maſters had any expectations beſides their own intereſts towards engaging them, they ought to be from Holland, and not from us; ſince the moſt important uſe of their troops would be to awe the biſhop of Munſter, who might otherwiſe be able by the French aſſiſtances to divert all or the greateſt part of the Dutch forces that way, and thereby leave Flanders open to the French. He confeſſed both theſe points; and I promiſed to do him any good offices I could towards the Dutch miniſters.

The deputies of the States came this day to me, to aſſure me of their deſires and reſolutions to ſatisfy his majeſty in the buſineſs of Surinam, but that they could not yet come to a final concluſion, and therefore deſired me to have patience for a little longer time, after which I might aſſure myſelf of a good end in it. They pretended monſieur de Witt's and their chief miniſters being ſo much taken up at this time; but upon diſcourſe confeſſed, the Zealanders aim to have their next ſhips arrive from Surinam. Upon which I fell into ſome heat with them; and told them, I would never ſend ſuch a meſſage to his majeſty, ſuch delays being fitter for law-ſuits than public negotiations; at laſt concluded, that becauſe I would a little conſider their miniſters being ſo much taken up at this pinch, about levies and other affairs agitating in the States of Holland, I was content to ſtay ſix days longer for their reſolution in this matter, upon condition I ſhould have it in that time to his majeſty's ſatisfaction. To make ſhort of a long conference; this they agreed to at laſt, and I will hope may keep their words, ſince there was one of the Zealand deputies among them.

The taſk you give me in the end of your letter is,

as you ſay, a hard one; for whatſoever is planted of that kind, will not grow long or well, but out of a good root at home; however, I ſhall venture at it here all I can; and dare undertake it ſhall not thrive worſe in this, than in other neighbour ſoils. I am, *&c.*

## *To my lord Arlington.*

My Lord, Hague, Dec. 24, N. S. 1669.

THough monſieur Overkirk wants nothing to make him welcome every where, but eſpecially at the Hague, yet I confeſs he was the more ſo to me, by a letter he brought me from your lordſhip; whereby I found myſelf to be not altogether forgotten where I deſire moſt to be remembered, and would deſerve it if I could. I am very ſenſible that the right you ſay he has done me there, may rather prove an ill office than a good; but however I am not the leſs obliged by his good meaning, nor the more touched by their ill, who are not content I ſhould gain a little eſteem, whilſt I am content to gain nothing elſe; and where I ſhould not care for that neither, but that I believe it to be the beſt way any miniſter can take towards the advantage of his maſter's ſervice. Whilſt your lordſhip hath neither ſhare nor belief in the ill offices are done me, I ſhall very eaſily neglect what comes from other hands, and content myſelf with not deſerving them, and with the aſſurance, that time will do me right; and that your lordſhip will not loſe your confidence of me till you have told me of ſome one action in my whole life, that you thought did not become a man you were inclined to think well of. And ſo I will leave that ſubject.

I agree with your lordſhip in being ſorry that Mr. Werden did not ſtay to ſee the effect of his majeſty's laſt reſolution in the great buſineſs here: and though the ill or no entertainments of this place might excuſe his haſte of returning; yet I believe he would have been

content a little to delay it, if he had expected any thing new from England: and for my part, I wish nothing more than some true witness of my carriage where-ever I am employed; which I doubt not he would have proved, without increasing any more than lessening my faults. I shall do neither by those of the Spaniards, which your lordship has so much reason to censure and reproach: nor should I be less amazed at them, but that I look upon them as the usual distractions of weak and diseased bodies. It is certain, they have deserved so little of us, that we have no reason at all to concern ourselves in their interests or dangers, unless we find they will have very strong and necessary consequences upon our own; and in that case our growing angry with them will only serve to hurt ourselves; and we had better help them to mend their faults, than force them by despair or hardships to increase them. Most of the ministers here, not knowing what to make of their late conduct in the difficulties upon the Swedish money, nor seeing well which way to turn themselves, in case Spain should take its measures with France by an exchange of Flanders, begin to confess they have dealt too roughly with them, in imposing not only the laws of a hard peace upon them, but the Swedish subsidies at the same time, and ever since refusing them their guaranty till those were paid; and seem to wish they had either accepted the first proposal I was sent hither to make them upon that occasion, or else endeavoured a defensive league with them after the conclusion of the peace at Aix; I mean, if it might have been done in conjunction with us: for I think, while we are content to hold firm with them, it were no great matter to undertake they shall never take any measures without us, either there or any where else; though I know there are reports in France that would make us believe it, if we are apt to those impressions.

For their detaining us so long upon the point of Surinam,

rinam, it muſt be attributed to the conſtitution of this State, where the obſtinacy of any one province can keep off a reſolution of the States General as long as they pleaſe, and that happens often where (as in this caſe) the matter touches one province by a particular intereſt, and the reſt only by a general one; for, I am ſure, the province of Holland and the other five were many months ago reſolved, not only to give us in ſubſtance the ſatisfaction we demanded, but in our own forms too; till they found that Zealand would neither be perſuaded *ni gourmandé* into the ſame reſolution; which hath made it hang ſo long, and go over at laſt defective as to what we expected about one of our own ſhips, though, as they contend, full as to what we can in any way ground upon our articles. For their great arming, which it ſeems makes more noiſe with you and in France than it does here; I ſhall not need give your lordſhip the particular of it, becauſe that is done with the other current news by my ſecretary Mr. Blaithwait every week to Mr. Williamſon; and ſhall only mark what may perhaps have eſcaped your lordſhip, that there are yet no actual levies here agreed upon, but only officers choſen, agreements made with them, and ſecurity taken for their bringing in their men at a certain warning when they ſhall be called upon by the States: ſo as the execution of what is hitherto but prepared will depend upon the clearer diſcovery of the French or the Munſter intentions to open a war: both which are expected here, and equally feared; the difference not being great between the danger of Flanders and their own: ſo that I can only anſwer your lordſhip's queſtion about the States meaning in this point; that it is, *Qu'on ne les trouve pas ſans vert le printems qui vient*; and that if it may prove a year of action, they will not be found without arms in their hands, for the better making either of peace or war. It is a hard attempt what your lordſhip mentions, to defend

their

their neighbours in ſpight of their teeth; yet I believe, in caſe Spain ſhould come to an exchange with France, and any of the towns of Flanders ſhould refuſe to obey it, either not to be ſold like ſlaves (as they call it) by the Spaniards, or not to be uſed like ſlaves by the French; you would ſee this State protect them with all their forces; and blow up any ſuch ends of a war in Flanders, rather than venture it at home; and perhaps endeavour to unite any ſuch new member into the body of their State, by giving them an eighth voice in their generality, in caſe it ſhould be ſuch a place as Antwerp, or Ghent, or Bruges, where they might eaſily come with their arms to defend it: and they have notice of ſome ſuch diſcourſes already a-foot in theſe parts, which they neglect not to foment, as a proviſion againſt ſuch a blow from Spain. In caſe all they can do ſhould not be of force to prevent the falling of Flanders into the French hands, I believe their laſt reſource may be to endeavour being received as a circle into the Empire: but in all theſe tranſactions their chiefeſt care will be to ſtrengthen their union all they can with us, and to embark us in what they now eſteem the common cauſe, of ſtopping the growth of the French greatneſs. For though they ſay, and with truth, that we engaged them firſt in the purſuit of theſe meaſures, and the whole courſe of their preſent counſels; yet they would be much at eaſe to ſee us now as warm and as deep in them as they are themſelves, and would fain give us the honour of leading in them all.

The diſcourſe your lordſhip will poſſibly hear about changes or decays in the credit of the miniſtry here, I believe have no farther ſource than an endeavour in the city of Amſterdam to make themſelves more conſidered than as a ſimple town in the provinces; ſince they pay half of all that is laid upon the province of Holland, as Holland does of all that is levied on the ſeven provinces; which makes them believe they ought at leaſt in ſome degree to be conſidered in the province

as

as Holland is in the State; which made them employ all their ſtrength to oppoſe the faction of Leyden, Dort, Rotterdam, &c. who under monſieur de Witt's influence have of late years carried all before them in the uſual elections; and join with the body of the nobility here, to chuſe monſieur Matteneſſe in excluſion of monſieur Meerman; where the conteſt was about an office of the greateſt profit in theſe countries, and of great honour, though not influence upon the public affairs. They have likewiſe ſucceeded well in the late election of officers for the new levies, and ſeem diſpoſed to run on ſtill in a ſtring. And amongſt them there have of late been overtures about making a new miniſter, under the name of *Secretary of ſtate*; whoſe province ſhould be chiefly to receive the addreſſes of foreign miniſters, and take the care of all foreign diſpatches; and ſo eaſe monſieur de Witt of that attention he is fain to give thoſe as well as the home-affairs. And this I ſuppoſe was calculated for monſieur Van Beuninghen, who has ſilently had a great hand in all the counſels and motions of this town of Amſterdam; and, I believe, will in effect come to have the chief part, or at leaſt burthen, in foreign tranſactions, whether with any new name or no.

Monſieur de Witt in theſe late brigues has very prudently avoided any appearance of being a party in them; and contented himſelf with going his uſual pace, but ſtickling no farther in any of them; ſeeming rather to intend and endeavour the compoſure of all, than the valuing himſelf upon a diviſion; which I believe, with his being ſo very neceſſary to the State, will ever preſerve him in his conſideration here, *without ſome violent revolution*, to which nothing ſeems at all diſpoſed.

Among the late diviſions of this province, one great point has been about the intended prohibition of French commodities; which has been violently carried on by monſieur Van Beuninghen and his town of Amſterdam, but oppoſed and tempered by the towns of the other faction,

faction, upon the reſpect of their particular intereſts in the French trade, and the pretext of danger or ill conſequences in ſuch a counſel, unleſs it be taken in concert with England: ſo that whether it will go farther than the defence of the common French commodities that are in wear, I know not; though monſieur Van Beuninghen reckoned (not long ſince) abſolutely, that it would be carried to French ſalt and brandy; and if we would go the ſame pace, it ſhould reach to their wine too: which, he believed, would ſoon bring France into ſuch a conſumption as would keep them from being ſo troubleſome abroad. But I entered no farther with him into any diſcourſe of that kind, becauſe I doubt whether we are of a temper or a humour to reſolve or execute any bold or ſmart propoſitions, how well ſoever conceived, or conducing to our health and good fortunes: though I queſtion not at all but God Almighty has given us the power of going as high as the greateſt of our neighbours, but perhaps, as your lordſhip ſays, unknown to ourſelves, and in another way than ſome of us would be glad to have had it. But where-ever it lies I doubt it will never come out, till his majeſty can find the means to make an end of all fencing with the bents of his parliament, or diſcontents of his people; and bring his government into the credit of having no other aims nor intereſts but thoſe of his ſubjects in general, not in particular; nor conſequently any eye upon their money but for thoſe uſes they are willing to give it. This I confeſs is my opinion upon the whole, and that all does not conſiſt in a parliament's being prevailed with to give what is aſked in point of money, as I find many people think. However, I ſhould never have ſaid it to any but your lordſhip; nor to you neither, but induced by the melancholy reflections I obſerved in your letter upon this ſubject: but, whatever mine or another's opinion is, I am confident every man that thinks at all, muſt think it were not amiſs if his majeſty and his miniſters would

once

once for all conſider and agree upon a general draught of thoſe ways and counſels both at home and abroad, as they judge will beſt anſwer the great ends of the king and kingdom's ſafety, honour, and quiet. For when ſuch a ſcheme is once agreed upon, all the parts of it may be purſued in their order, and with conſtant application till they are brought to paſs; at leaſt ſuch as fail not in the trial, and ſo are found to have been ill conceived. But if it ſhould prove (as I find ſome men think) that we live only by the day; and content ourſelves to patch up things as they break out, and fly at the game as it riſes; it is at the beſt but like birding or hawking, which may furniſh a diſh or two, but can never keep the houſe.

If your lordſhip can pardon all this liberty and trouble, I will not run myſelf into the occaſion of aſking it again; if not, you muſt lay the whole fault upon your own letter, or rather upon my not having heard from you, or written to you of late; and upon my perpetual ſtrong inclinations of returning into my old correſpondence, juſt as a man does into an old love, which lies ſtill at heart, however diverted or diſcontinued. But becauſe I uſe ſo much freedom in the account of diſpoſitions here, and of my own thoughts, I ſend it by Mr. Richard's conveyance to your own hands; in which I ſhall ever think all ſafe that concerns me, becauſe I have been always, and am with ſo much paſſion, my lord, your, *&c.*

*To the Conſtable of Caſtile.*

Hague, Jan. 23.
My Lord, N. S. 1670.

I Doubt not but the Spaniſh ambaſſador has by this courier communicated to your excellency the project of the concert for particular forces, drawn

Au Connétable de Caſtile.

*La Haye, le 23 Jan.*
*Monſieur, S. N. 1670.*

*JE ne doute pas que monſieur l'ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne ne communique à V. E. par ce courier le projet du concert des forces particulieres, lequel a été arreté ici*

drawn up by consent of the ministers of the three confederates: and I can assure your excellency, that to bring it into form, all the said ministers have stretched their powers as much as possible, so that there will be no room to press them farther; and it has been with difficulty enough that we have resisted the instances of the Swedish minister to have his guaranty, rather than make this pace after so many other unprofitable ones. He assures us, that he never advanced any proposition of bringing troops from Pomerania or Bremen; because there are no more in those parts than what serve for garrisons; and when he is pressed upon this point, he answers us, that to maintain supernumerary troops in those parts they must have subsidies even in time of peace; and upon this condition Sweden will be content.

I think what he promises is sufficient; that is, to bring into the field the 16000 men in three months after the attack; for there is no appearance of employing so great forces, unless by way of diversion; since the troops to be furnished by his majesty and the States General, joined to those of the catholic king, will be as many as can be well employed for the defence of Flanders; for it is not designed they should

*icy par le consentement des ministres des trois confederez. Je puis bien assurer V. E. que pour le reduire à la forme où il est, tous les ministres se sont relachez à l'envi, & autant qu'il leur a été possible. Il seroit inutile de les presser de nouveau, & pretendre en obtenir davantage: nous avons trouvé assez de difficulté à l'emporter sur le ministre de Suede, pour avoir sa guarantie avant que d'aller plus loin, & de faire de nouveaux pas inutiles, après tous ceux que nous avions faits. Il nous asseure de n'avoir jamais rien proposé qui tendit à faire venir des troupes de Pomeranie ni de Breme, qui sont des lieux où il n'y en a pas un plus grand nombre que ce qu'il faut pour les garrisons; qui si l'on le presse sur ce point, il nous répond, que pour entretenir des troupes supernumeraires en ces lieux-là, il faut des subsidies en tems de paix même, & qu'à ces conditions la Suede en sera satisfaite.*

*Il me semble que c'est assez qu'il promette de fair agir les* 16000 *hommes trois mois écoulés après l'attaque; car il n'y a guere d'apparence d'employer de si grandes forces, que par voye de diversion: les troupes qui doivent être fournies par sa majesté & les Etats Généraux étant jointes à celles du roy catholique, leur nombre sera suffisant pour la defense des Païs-bas; car on n'a pas dessein de se repandre dans le païs, & de s'y élargir, ni de*

*paroître*

ſhould be maſters of the field. Your excellency ſees, that you may reckon if you pleaſe upon 10000 men from the States in 15 days time; and though there be no term ſpecified by the king my maſter, I think your excellency need make no difficulty upon it, ſince the words, *as ſoon as poſſible*, ſignify the ſhorteſt time one can deſire. And I confeſs, that not having obſerved any reflection upon the time, in the orders of the queen regent of Spain, which were communicated to us by the ambaſſador Gamarra, I gave no notice of it to his majeſty, thinking myſelf ſufficiently guarded by my powers, to ſign the ſame project which had been ſent into England as well as Spain.

I hope, that as ſoon as your excellency will have ſent powers to the Spaniſh ambaſſador to deliver the money, there will be no difficulty in ſigning the project as it has been communicated to him. And I do not think, from what I can judge by the miniſter of Sweden, that the affair is likely to ſuffer any farther delays; whereof I thought good to give your excellency this intelligence,

*paroître maître de la campagne. V. E. voit que quand il lui plaira, quinze jours de tems la rendront maitreſſe de dix mille hommes de troupes des Etats Généraux; & à l'egard du roy mon maître, quoyque le terme ne ſoit ni exprimé, ni preciſement ſpecifié, il me ſemble pourtant que V. E. ne peut former des difficultés ſur cela; car ces mots,* Au plûtôt que faire ſe pourra, *emportent bien un terme limité, quelque court qu'on veuille ſe ſouſentendre, perſonne n'ayant jamais exigé une choſe plutôt qu'elle ne ſe peut faire. J'avoüeray, que les ordres & pleins pouvoirs de la reine regente d'Eſpagne, qui nous ont été communiqués par l'ambaſſadeur Gamarra, ne faiſant aucune mention de cette petite difference, je n'en avois pas donné avis à ſa majeſté, me croyant aſsés muni, & oſsés autorisé par mes pleins-pouvoirs pour ſigner le même projet qui avoit été envoyé en Angleterre auſſi bien qu'en Eſpagne.*

*J'eſpere que dès que V. E. aura depêché les pouvoirs à l'ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne de delivrer l'argent, il n'y aura plus de difficulté à la ſignature du projet, tel qu'il luy a été communiqué: et autant que je le puis juger, ſur tout par rapport au miniſtre de Suede, je ne croy plus que cette affaire trouve de retardement. C'eſt dequoy j'ay voulu donner avis à V. E. C'eſt à elle à en uſer*

*ſelon*

gence, which you may make use of according to your prudence, and the interests of the king your master. I am, my lord, your, &c.

*selon sa prudence, & les interêts de son roy, & à m'estimer comme je suis,* &c.

## *To Sir John Trevor.*

SIR, Hague, Jan. 24, N. S. 1670.

I Am to acknowledge yours of the 7th with an enclosed to monsieur Van Beuninghen, which I have sent to Amsterdam, having first perused it as you pleased to give me leave. I shall say nothing upon it till I have spoken with him, and seen how we agree in matter of fact; because the weight of all seems to lie upon the use of those private contracts to the exclusion of our trade, having been disowned, if not invalidated, by the treaty between the two nations after the first war; and upon the practice having been exercised accordingly for several years after and till within few years of our second war: which two points, if they can be evidenced by the treaty, and by sufficient testimonies of the subsequent practice, we have certainly all the reason in the world for our demands. But if we must rely upon the common equity in freedom of traffic between friends, we are engaged in the question upon which we cannot yet agree; whether the same rules are current in the Indies as in Europe: to which I suppose we shall hardly ourselves consent if the West must be comprehended as well as the East. But I shall be able to say more upon this when I have got a sight of the treaty after the first war, and heard monsieur Van Beuninghen upon your letter: and in the mean time shall assure you of all the offices I can possibly render towards the obtaining of what we pretend.

I can add nothing to my last upon the business of Surinam; being engaged in my endeavours of disposing those

those of Zealand to let it pass smooth when it comes to the States General: such stops being easier prevented than removed, while men are so apt to persist in what they have once said. In the mean time the Pensioner of Zealand presses me to procure the names of such as his majesty intends to employ as commissioners, before the orders here are consigned me, according as they desired in their last letter: wherein you may observe the names of three men to be inserted on purpose that his majesty might decline them in this commission; if you please to send me the names, I suppose it may be necessary to the expediting of these orders; unless you should think of any inconvenience in it, which occurs not to me.

In pursuit of the late conference, whereof I gave you account in my last, we have agreed upon this enclosed project to be sent to the Constable, as that which he may hope will be signed upon the money being paid; and wherein I am sure there is not any thing of the least moment changed, as to what concerns his majesty; though the changing of the form that you sent me could not be avoided, because it was without introduction or conclusion, and besides it went a step farther than the Swedish minister was willing to go, in making it an act to the Spaniards; whereas this runs only as an instrument between themselves, of which the Spanish ministers are to have only an authentic copy; and since the Swedes had rather have it this way, I thought best to agree with them, at least if the Spaniards will be contented with it: but I would not be induced to engage his majesty in point of time; though I was never pressed with more earnestness to any thing, both by the Spaniards and by the Dutch, who sent their deputies twice to persuade me to it, because they were unwilling to leave the Constable that way of escaping us. And to say the truth, in my own judgment I thought it very little material, but I had no orders to go farther

in it; and have to the Spaniards taken upon myself the not having given his majesty any notice of that pretension early enough to have it included in my powers; as you will see by the inclosed copy of the letter I yesterday wrote the Constable, in conjunction with another from the States, to press conclusion in this affair.

For particular occurrents, I refer to what goes to Mr. Cook, being unwilling to charge myself with the credit of current news; which I have ever found so uncertain, that a man may be considered more for what he does not write, than what he does. Yet I will trouble you with two small matters, whether they deserve it or no. Monsieur de Rohan, brother to the duke de Mombaçon, having sold his place of Grand Veneur for four hundred and odd thousand livres, came hither last week to dispose of a hundred thousand crowns in this country, though interest is not half so high as in France; and has done it: which I reflected on, because I had heard formerly, he was a person as well with his master as almost any at court.

There was executed this week at Amsterdam a person of very good quality and credit among them, only for having engaged the copies of an obligation he had from the admiralty, instead of the original, to some persons from whom he took up money upon them: and though he was nephew to one of the burgomasters of that town, and brother to the treasurer of Zealand, and all the instances that could be, were made for having him condemned all his life to a hole where he could neither see nor stir, with offer of repaying all the money he had taken up; and afterwards a thousand pounds would have been given to have had him executed in prison; yet he could not escape losing his head with the common forms in public, to the loss of his creditors, who were as much concerned to save him as his friends. Which I observed as a remarkable strain of the justice here, so much different from the style of most other places. I am, Sir, &c.

To

*To my lord Arlington.*

My Lord, Hague, Feb. 7, N. S. 1670.

SInce my laſt I have received your lordſhip's of the 28th paſt; and doubt not but before this arrives, you will be fully ſatisfied by the late accounts I have given, of our progreſs here, towards the concluſion of what had ſo long depended between us and the Spaniſh miniſters: I cannot yet ſay the money is paid; but I ſee nothing that wants towards it, only the adjuſting of that conjunction (demanded by the Conſtable) of merchants at Antwerp: for the Spaniſh dealings are in ſo ill credit, that it is hard to find any who will give caution for ſuch a ſum to the Spaniards, and in their own dominions, where they can plead and judge themſelves: I believe the States muſt at laſt engage to the merchants here, that they will indemnify them from all that ſhall fall out on this occaſion: though after the arrival of the ratifications from England and Sweden, the Spaniards ſhould make a *Querelle d'Allemand* with their correſpondents at Antwerp, and force them to any prejudice without any pretence.

I gave monſieur de Witt the firſt news of the French king's declaration, to remit the judgment of the differences depending on the peace to his majeſty's and the Crown of Sweden's arbitration: he thought the leaving out the States was ſomething diſcourteous on the French ſide; but ſaid, however, he was very glad of the thing being done, and hoped, as the buſineſs ſhould receive no hurt by any reſentment on their ſide, ſo it would receive none on our ſide by any effect of the great cajolry of France; eſpecially ſince this reſolution appeared by the time to have another ſource than only the civility or deference of that court towards his majeſty.

I doubt the confidence in this declaration will ſtop

the levies which were intended for this spring, though these ministers are not the most believing in the French promises; and I am not very confident, the effect of this last may not be spoiled by some unreasonable answer from Spain upon it; having been confirmed in such a suspicion by the baron d'Isola's opinion, who told me he would write to the marquis Castel-Rodrigo, to advise that the queen should accept this offer of France, [c] *pourveu que le roy très-chrêtien remettroit au même arbitrage toutes les contreventions de la paix dont l'Espagne s'estoit plaint à la conference de Lisle.* Which concerns the spoils of Burgundy, and which France would never admit to give jointly in the conference with their pretensions about the dependences. I told the baron, I feared such an answer might ruin the business, since it could not come till the beginning of the spring, and might then give the French a pretext of recalling his word; after the passing of it had laid asleep all thoughts or preparations for war both in Flanders and Holland, from whence the first assistance is to be expected: and that I thought the answer of Spain ought to be full and absolute as to the acceptance, of what is offered by France: and if they would make room for the contraventions he mentions, that they should do it rather by enlarging the acceptance than restraining it to any condition, and say they accepted the arbitrage upon those dependences, and all other differences arising upon the peace; in the discussion whereof the Spanish pretensions might likewise be brought before the arbitrators, but at a more seasonable time than this next spring will prove. The baron professed to be convinced by these reasons: but because there is not much trust to a person who is so far in love with his own sufficiency, and seems to mind the valuing of himself at least equally

[c] *Provided the most Christian king would refer to the same arbitrage all the contraventions of the peace, whereof Spain complained at the conference of Lisle.*

with

with the doing of his buſineſs; I thought it not impertinent to give your lordſhip my reflection upon this matter, that if you approve it, you may by ſome ſafe way or cypher tranſmit it to Sir William Godolphin: for otherwiſe I am confident the Spaniſh anſwer will be perplexed with thoſe contraventions, which have held the commiſſioners all this while at a bay at Liſle, and will not be admitted by France in the deciſion of the dependences.

I ſent your lordſhip encloſed baron d'Iſola's rough propoſitions concerning his maſter's joining with the triple alliance, which the miniſters of the confederates think fit to diſcourſe firſt among themſelves, and afterwards enter into conference with him, as the miniſters of one united power. All we can do at firſt will be to communicate what paſſes to our maſters: and therefore I ſend your lordſhip the firſt propoſals by advance, that I may the ſooner know your reflections upon them.

After what will paſs here in the concluſion of our guaranty and Swediſh payments, I think, if monſieur Ognati can propoſe any good way of ſecuring his majeſty, or rather furniſhing him beforehand with what one quarter of the Swediſh future ſubſidies will amount to for the three months which are to be advanced, it would add to the ſtrength and credit of our alliance, in giving ſo great a ſatisfaction to the Swede, as they would receive by his majeſty's undertaking for the fifteen thouſand crowns a month, which they have ſo much inſiſted on, and ſeem ſo much unſatisfied with failing in it.

I had notice from my lord Falconbridge of his intended journey; and have already begun our correſpondence by a letter which will meet him at Paris: and ſhall not fail in that, nor I hope in any other duties of my employment.

I wiſh my lord Berkley all ſucceſs in his new and great charge; not knowing any other wherein a diligent, honeſt, and able perſon may be of greater ſervice to his majeſty than in that. I am, ever, my lord, your lordſhip's moſt faithful and moſt humble ſervant.

## *To Sir William Godolphin.*

SIR, Hague, Apr. 3, N. S. 1670.

THis bearer monſieur Chieſe is diſpatched by his highneſs the prince of Orange to Madrid, for the proſecution and recovery of a great debt owing now ſome time from that crown to his highneſs, and, I think, not diſputed by them: and though this gentleman goes armed with much better weapons than any I can furniſh him towards the purſuit of his enterpriſe; yet the prince having commanded me to give him my recommendations to you among many others he carries, I could not fail of it, nor will I doubt its being of ſome force with you, ſince it comes in the ſervice of a prince whoſe birth gives him ſo much intereſt in all Engliſhmen, and whoſe perſonal qualities and virtues give him a great deal more in all thoſe that have the honour to know him. I muſt therefore beg all the good offices and aſſiſtances you can ſhew this gentleman in purſuit of his highneſs's concernments, as well as your advice to him if he deſires it, how to addreſs himſelf by ſuch perſons, and in ſuch ways, as will give him moſt appearance of ſucceſs. Your favour herein I ſhall take care to value as I ought towards his highneſs; as I ſhall always myſelf acknowledge it, and remain, Sir, your obedient humble ſervant.

To

## *To the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo.*

Hague, Apr. 3.
My Lord, N. S. 1670.

THough the bearer hereof, monſieur Chieſe, will have no need of other ſupport beſide the name of the prince his maſter, and the juſtice of the affair he has in charge; I would not fail however of giving him, beſides, this recommendation to your excellency, as well to pay my duty to his highneſs the prince of Orange, as to ſhew my confidence that I have yet ſome ſhare in the memory and friendſhip of your excellency. I can aſſure you that the court of Spain, in doing juſtice to his highneſs, will oblige a prince who equals his great birth by his great qualities; and who will be one day capable of recompenſing the kindneſs that ſhall be ſhewed him at preſent. His highneſs already takes great part in the good turn of the Spaniſh affairs, by ſuch ſentiments as deſerve to be cheriſhed, and not diſcouraged by any treatment either unjuſt or diſobliging. I could not recommend his pretenſions to a perſon more generous than your excellency, nor to one who has been always pleaſed to intereſt him ſo much in what regards the king my

## Au Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo.

*La Haye, 3 Avril,*
*Monſieur, S. N. 1670.*

*QUoique le porteur de cette lettre, monſieur Chieſe, n'ait pas beſoin d'autre appuy que du nom du prince ſon Maître & de l'équité de la cauſe dont il eſt chargé; & je n'ay pourtant pas voulu manquer à luy donner comme par ſurabondance de droit, cette recommendation auprès de V. E. autant pour ſatisfaire à mon devoir envers ſon alteſſe le prince d'Orange, que pour me faire honneur de la confiance avec laquelle je croy avoir encore quelque part dans le ſouvenir & l'amitié de V. E. Je pourrois bien l'aſſurer, qu'en faiſant juſtice à ſon alteſſe, la cour d'Eſpagne obligera un prince dont les grandes qualités égalent la grandeur de ſa naiſſance, & qui ſera un jour en état de reconnoître les bontez qu'on aura à preſent pour luy; ajouteray-je, que ce prince prend déja beaucoup de part au bon train que prennent les affaires d'Eſpagne? de tels ſentimens quand ils ſeroient ſeuls, meritent que ſa perſonne ſoit cherie, & qu'au lieu de le rebuter par des traitemens qui ſentent l'injuſtice, on embraſſe cette occaſion de l'obliger. Je ne ſçaurois recommander ſes interêts à une perſonne plus généreuſe que V. E. ni qui ſe ſoit toujours plus*

my master. And your excellency's favour in this affair cannot be desired with greater instance, nor by one who is more than I am, my lord, your excellency's, &c.

*intereſsée dans tout ce qui a touché de près le roy mon maître. V. E. ne ſçauroit être plus inſtamment priée d'acorder ſa faveur, ni par une perſonne qui lui ſoit plus acquiſe, & qui ſoit avec plus de paſſion que je ſuis,* &c.

## *To Sir John Trevor.*

SIR, Hague, May 6, N. S. 1670.

I Have newly received yours of the 23d paſt, with a former of the 19th, which brought me ſome marginal additions upon the paper I laſt ſent into Zealand concerning the buſineſs of Surinam. As to the words, *The* Dutch *nation inhabiting there*, which are conformable with the ſtyle of the States laſt letter to his majeſty upon that ſubject, I queſtion not to get them inſerted, in caſe the Zealanders come to a concluſion upon my paper; though they ſay, it already contains ſeveral points more than our firſt demands.

For the words, *Ou quelque autre*, concerning the perſon by whom his majeſty will ſend the orders, I ſuppoſe they will paſs too; in caſe the intentions are not to employ any of thoſe three perſons for the carrying them, againſt whom the Dutch at firſt excepted.

For the other words which determine the rendition of the colony, to be that made by major Banniſter, April 21, 1668, I muſt ſay freely, that I have very little hopes of gaining it; having formerly employed my ſtrength upon it without any ſucceſs, ſo much as with the deputies of Holland, or of any other provinces which have expreſſed the moſt eaſy compliance with our demands; and they ever thought it very hard, that having yielded to our demands, of exporting ſlaves, contrary to all cuſtoms formerly practiſed in that colony, and upon the diſputed ſenſe of an article, we ſhould

preſs

preſs them to carry away likewiſe thoſe very ſlaves which they themſelves had furniſhed us with, though they offer to repay more than the price they coſt. And upon my inſtances upon this matter, their anſwer was, that there was no need of diſtinguiſhing the renditions of the colony, ſince the meaning of their letter was, that what ſlaves had been furniſhed by the Dutch ſhould be left, and the reſt ſhould be carried off: ſo that if none were by them furniſhed between the firſt and ſecond rendition, then none were to be left; but if any were, then thoſe to be left, as well as ſuch as had been furniſhed by the Dutch ſince the laſt rendition. And this point, I am confident, was debated by the deputies, not upon any particular knowledge of what it imports, but only upon the general notion and reaſon of the thing, from which it will be very hard to make them recede: however, I ſhall uſe my endeavours in it, and be as glad as you can, of any good offices that I am able to render major Banniſter, though he has been the moſt troubleſome acquaintance to me, that I have ever had in my life. I preſſed monſieur de Witt and the commiſſioners at our laſt meeting two days ſince, and particularly the deputy of Zealand, for the diſpatch of this buſineſs: but not having then your additions to my laſt paper, I could ſay nothing of them. Monſieur de Witt told me, a conference was appointed this day between the commiſſioners of Holland and Zealand upon this buſineſs.

On Sunday night laſt the exchanges were made of the ratifications of the concert, with that from Spain for the future Swediſh ſubſidies: but the Swediſh and Dutch miniſters having each of them three originals of the concert, and not contenting themſelves with authentic copies, as I had propoſed, I am forced to give you the trouble of ſending two originals more of the ratification of the concert, to be delivered to the miniſters of thoſe two States upon my receiving the like from them.

them. I will tell you by the way, that I had ſome reaſon to doubt whether the ratification you ſent me would paſs or no, though I thought it was not fit for me to make you any ſcruple upon it, unleſs it were firſt raiſed by the other miniſters here, and do not know whether it came in that form by choice, or by miſtake: But I am ſure, the ratification, as it runs, is only of the guaranty with its clauſes, of which the concert was never taken to be a part, and ſtands in need of a very ſtrong deduction or connection with the words of the preface, which indeed mentions the concert as well as the guaranty: and you will find it very different from the ratification which came from Sweden (and goes here incloſed) and ſuch as, I muſt confeſs, had I been the Spaniſh ambaſſador, I ſhould not have accepted, tho' neither he nor the Swediſh miniſter have yet taken notice of it. I thought not fit to communicate it to monſieur de Witt, till the day before the exchange was to be made, becauſe I knew it could not eſcape him, and did it then only between ourſelves: and he immediately checked when he came to the word, *Supra memoratam garantiam*; and obſerved that there wanted the convention about forces, which was the ſole end of their ratification: and thereupon he ſaid immediately, *Cela n'eſt pas comme il faut* [This is not as it ſhould be] but comparing it with thoſe in the preface, he ſaid at laſt, *Cela peut ſuffire* [This may do] and wiſhed that others were no more ſcrupulous than he, where he knew the intentions were good: and ſo he made no farther mention of it upon our exchange of the ratifications; which I believe proceeded in him from the ill conſequence, he foreſaw, might ariſe upon the diſcovery of a weakneſs of our inſtrument in this conjuncture, when our intentions in this affair are ſomething more ſuſpected than you aſſure me they deſerve.

I hear the town of Amſterdam has conſented to monſieur Van Beuninghen's journey; but ſhall not be able

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to give you an aſſurance of it till my next, and content myſelf now, with that of being always, Sir, your, *&c.*

## *To my lord Arlington.*

My Lord, Hague, May 15, N. S. 1670.

THE knowledge of your lordſhip's abſence from town has given you of late more eaſe than otherwiſe I intended; and your trouble now begins upon the firſt advice I had of your return, which was by your lordſhip's of the 29th paſt; by which I find the ſuſpicion you have conceived there of the late Spaniſh anſwer to his Majeſty having been indited at the Hague: and withal you deſire to know ſomething more particular of monſieur Van Beuninghen's errand into England. The firſt, I am confident, is without other ground, than a common opinion we have conceived of more *fineſſe* than I have yet obſerved in the chief miniſters here, who are as hard and as firm as you can imagine them; but for tricks or juggling, I do not obſerve either their abilities or their diſpoſitions lie much that way; nor, I believe, does any wiſe man's, unleſs he be brought to it by the ill condition or neceſſity of his affairs, and finds no other way of living; which is not yet their caſe here, nor will be, I ſuppoſe, while Flanders is preſerved: and ſo long I ſhall look upon them as merchants in good eſtate and credit, and who will endeavour to keep it up by ſquare dealing: but whenever they fail in that adventure, I ſhall grow as jealous of them as I ſee others are. I have enquired particularly of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, and am aſſured by him that all monſieur de Witt's diſcourſes upon that ſubject of the late anſwer from Spain agreed perfectly with what he made me upon the ſame occcaſion: and I know, the States deputies at Bruſſels had immediate orders from hence to apply themſelves very earneſtly to the Conſtable for the redreſs of that fault: and I dare ſay, whoever thinks that theſe

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menhere will quit a point of intereſt for a point of honour, has taken a wrong meaſure of them. The Spaniſh ambaſſador bid me be aſſured that the anſwer from Spain will be amended, and come in all points to his majeſty's ſatisfaction: he goes this day from hence towards Bruſſels, being haſtened thither by an expreſs from the Conſtable, who, I believe, intends to make uſe of him in the junto there: upon whom, I hear, he will wholly devolve all his public buſineſs, having taken an atteſtation from his phyſicians that his ill health has rendered him wholly uncapable of charging himſelf any longer with it.

For monſieur Van Beuninghen's errand into England, I ſuppoſe the riſe of it was of an old date; and occcaſioned a good deal by my laying often to their charge the want of reſpect they ſhewed his majeſty in the choice of the miniſters they ſent into England, who are ſeldom of the province of Holland, or of thoſe perſons moſt conſidered in this State. Beſides, when I found I was not able to bring the buſineſs of our marine treaty to ſuch a concluſion as we propoſed, though I failed but in one article (which yet, it ſeems, is thought to import the whole of our pretenſions there) I told them here, that it would be abſolutely neceſſary to treat it in England, and bring it to ſome iſſue there; and, for that purpoſe, to ſend ſome able perſon over, who, being perfectly inſtructed in it from hence, might debate there with perſons as well inſtructed on our ſide. Upon theſe grounds monſieur Van Beuninghen's journey was thought fit above a year ago; but his being choſen burgomaſter of Amſterdam about the ſame time made him then abſolutely refuſe it. Since his year expired, my inſtances ſtill continuing for a concluſion in our Eaſt-India buſineſs, and Mr. Secretary Trevor's papers upon the ſame ſubject keeping life in it from time to time, monſieur Van Beuninghen began about two months ſince to ſhew ſome inclination to the journey: which

which has been pursued very earnestly by the States here, and especially by monsieur de Witt, till it came lately on all sides to be resolved on: so as your lordship must reckon, that the avowed errand will be the business of the East-India company, and the clearing that part of the marine treaty which so long proved too hard for me here. Besides, this will be the compliment they pretend to make his majesty, in sending a person of so much account amongst them, as monsieur Van Beuninghen; and with the orders of Surinam, which they here reckon upon as a perfect piece of compliance with his majesty. And this is the account they give the French ambassador of this journey; adding a good deal of monsieur Van Beuninghen's inclination to see England in this season.

That which is farther meant by it, is, first, in general to inform themselves perfectly of our temper in the pursuit of those ends we have been these two or three years last engaged in, and which, many discourses and reflections of late have made them a little suspect, does not continue so equal and so warm as it began. And in this regard it will be his business to use his best and most persuasive oratory to confirm us in the pursuit of those common interests abroad, which we have of late so much advanced by our triple alliance, and the dependences of it; and in short, to persuade us, that it is more our honour and our interest to lead than to follow. In pursuit of this, he will, I believe, endeavour to dispose us to accept a conjunction with such princes of the Empire as desire it, upon such measures as are proposed in the late project I sent your lordship drawn up by monsieur de Witt: though I have made so good way in defending you upon this point, that I believe it would not cost much trouble there, unless you are willing to enter farther into it than you seemed of late.

Another point, and that which I believe he will most eagerly pursue, is the prohibition of French commodi-

ties,

ties, upon which his particular imagination has been long bent, as the only ſure and eaſy way of bringing the French power and riches into decay, in caſe the thing could be agreed on among all or the greateſt part of their neighbours: and this State having founded the Spaniſh court upon that point, received anſwer, that whatever England and they ſhould agree upon, Spain would readily join with them in it: by which means they ſuppoſe, that beſides what would be ſaved by both our nations, by ſtopping the vaſt importation of French commodities, a very great traffic would be gained by exporting our own, to furniſh the Spaniſh fleet, which ſupplies their Weſt-Indies every year in a great meaſure with commodities brought them from France. The reſolutions of this State go as yet no farther, as I can hear, than to all ſorts of wearing goods and brandy; nor do I know whether this itſelf will be brought to execution before they are ſatisfied how far we are likely to join with them in it; after which, the conſiderations of wine and ſalt will likewiſe come in play.

Beſides theſe public matters, I doubt you will likewiſe be purſued about Mr. Honywood's widow, who is daughter to a burgomaſter of Amſterdam, and ſo moſt properly under monſieur Van Beuninghen's protection, eſpecially being a young and handſome widow; which I hear will tempt her to go over with him herſelf, and plead her own cauſe.

I do not think the intentions of his journey go farther than what I have mentioned, unleſs he be invited to any thing upon the place, or by ſome new accident from abroad. In the mean time, to do him right, we ſhall have a great deal of reaſon to welcome him, becauſe he has very induſtriouſly employed himſelf in helping us to gain our point upon the buſineſs of Surinam, which was yeſterday reſolved on by the States General, though the province of Zealand proteſted againſt it: and beſides, nothing has given us ſo hopeful

a proſpect of the prince's good fortunes here, as the ſupport of the town of Amſterdam, ſo declared, and ſo warm in his preſent concernment; towards which I am confident monſieur Van Beuninghen has very much contributed, as being a perſon of very great influence in that city. The ſtate of that whole buſineſs is ſo well and ſo fully ſet down in the paper of intelligence, that I am ſure I cannot amend it and therefore will not repeat it.

Your lordſhip will know by the incloſed, that monſieur de St. Evremont ſet out this morning towards England, with the Portugal ambaſſador likewiſe, who both accompany monſieur d'Opdam as far as Nieuport, and there embark for Dover, whilſt he goes on to meet the French king at Dunkirk with the States compliments. I am ever, my lord, your, &c.

P. S. I had forgot to tell your lordſhip, that another part of monſieur Van Beuninghen's inſtructions will be, to endeavour all that can be that this State may be admitted into a conjunction with his majeſty for the purſuit of the Algerines till they are reduced to the neceſſity of a peace with both.

## *To Sir John Trevor.*

SIR, Hague, May 27, N. S. 1670.

I Have this day received yours of the 13th current, with the account of my lord of Eſſex's treatment in paſſing the Sound; which, if wholly new, was what we had very little reaſon to expect from that crown ſince the change of their miniſtry: though there are ſome reports here that they intend to keep up a cloſe intelligence with France, for fear of the Swede; whoſe forces give them at this time, it ſeems, ſome jealouſy. I will hope my lord of Eſſex may receive the ſatisfaction he demands; however he will have that of having diſcharged his part upon this occaſion with the conſtancy that became him.

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I do not queſtion but you will receive a wiſer anſwer, as you ſay, from Spain; and wiſh they could find wiſer men to encharge with their great affairs and governments, than you will ſee they do by the accounts I know you receive from Bruſſels, of the Conſtable's late caprices in order to his return for Spain. It is here variouſly diſcourſed who ſhall ſucceed him: the old Empreſs and prince Charles of Lorrain being ſtill in name among ſome others; either of which, or both together, as it is talked of, ſeeming the beſt choice that can now be made by the crown of Spain. It is wiſhed here that his majeſty would further it all he can by the offices of his miniſter in that court.

Yeſterday the Spaniſh ambaſſador's ſecretary came to communicate to me a letter he had received from the ambaſſador at Bruſſels; taking notice, that upon a more particular obſervation of our late ratification of the concert, the date of it was preceding to that of the concert itſelf ſigned by me here at the Hague, which was the laſt of January N. S. whereas the ratification at Weſtminſter bears date the 7th of January, O. S. And this remark of the ambaſſador's I find to be true, by comparing it with the copy of the ratification that lies by me: and doubt not but the miſtake only was of the month of January for February, in the ratification you ſent me over. Whereupon I aſſured the ſecretary, there could be no difficulty in the redreſs of it, and he deſired me to endeavour it as ſoon as I could; and I hope the notice of it may come time enough to prevent the ſame miſtake in the inſtruments intended for Sweden and Holland, as well as to procure a new one for Spain.

I could not by the laſt poſt give you the certainty of the iſſue in the prince of Orange's affair, the States of Holland not riſing till one o'clock that night, after the warmeſt debates which have been known among them for many years: however, the towns which favour

vour the prince having the plurality of voices, and Amſterdam in the head of them, at length carried their point, and brought it to a reſolution, that the prince ſhould have ſeſſion in the council of State with a deciſive voice; and ſhould have the ſame place his anceſtors were uſed to. After this was reſolved on, that party which the moſt oppoſed the prince's intereſt ſtarted two new points: the firſt, that no captain-general ſhould be choſen otherwiſe than from year to year, but by unanimity of voices; and ſecondly, that in caſe the prince ſhould be choſen captain-general for life, then it ſhould be again debated and reſolved by plurality of voices, whether he ſhould continue his ſeſſion in the council of State. And theſe two points were agreed to by all the towns excepting four or five, in which number were Amſterdam and Haerlem; who maintain, that they were not now to be reſolved, but then only when thoſe matters came in queſtion. The States of Holland being ſeparated after theſe reſolutions, the execution of that concerning the prince's entrance into the council of State will remain in the States General, and conſequently receive no oppoſition that I can foreſee: and though it bears no great name, yet I take it to be of that importance, as to leave his highneſs's future fortunes in a manner wholly dependent upon his own carriage and perſonal qualities, which give hitherto all the ſigns that can be of advancing, and not impairing, them.

In the courſe of this buſineſs, monſieur Van Beuninghen has ſo much provoked the ill-will and opinion of thoſe towns which were contrary to the prince, that they had almoſt reſolved to make a ſtop of his journey; but that is now over, and he prepares to be gone the end of this week, and will not deſerve to be leſs welcome in England for what has lately paſſed here; though perhaps it may not be to his advantage, nor to the prince's neither, to give him any too pub-

lic teſtimonies of it. He gave me hopes on Sunday night, that to-morrow the buſineſs of Surinam would be ended, according to the form I drew up in purſuit of our laſt conference, which I here ſend you incloſed: though he told me there would be difficulty in the point of major Banniſter's landing with ſo much liberty as is inſiſted on: and therefore he preſſed me hard to be content with either remaining aboard his ſhips, or elſe lodging in the fort till his affairs were diſpatched, where all convenience ſhould be provided him: but I refuſed both; and ſo left the thing with him in the form it now runs. I am, Sir, your, *&c.*

## *To my lord Berkeley.*

My Lord, Hague, May 30, N. S. 1670.

THough I know your excellency would eaſily forgive me a commiſſion which might ſave you a trouble in the midſt of many others that are a great deal more neceſſary; yet I could not forgive myſelf if I ſhould any longer delay giving your lordſhip the aſſurances how great a part I take in all your fortunes, and conſequently how much I have ſhared in the general ſatisfaction which I hear you have both left in England, and found in Ireland, upon your late entering upon the government of that kingdom. I am not only much pleaſed with it upon a private ſcore, as one of your lordſhip's ſervants, but as having always had the beſt wiſhes for the public good of that country, and his majeſty's ſervice in the eſtabliſhment of it: both which will, I am confident, thrive very much in your lordſhip's hands; not only in regard of the great experience and abilities which are ſo generally allowed you; but becauſe you are too rich, as well as too generous, to loſe the merit and glory of great and honeſt actions in the cares of your own private fortunes: for this has too often given an alloy both to the

the worth and ſucceſs of ſeveral of your lordſhip's predeceſſors; and contributed chiefly to the unhappineſs of the governors as well as of the country; both which, I hope, you will have the honour to reſtore. I cannot but obſerve to your lordſhip, that I find by a general conſent of the merchants here, that Ireland runs every year an eighth part in debt by importing ſo much beyond its exportation; which being to be drawn out in coin, will be a certain, though ſlow, conſumption of the treaſure of that kingdom, unleſs remedied by ſumptuary laws or examples for leſſening the importation of foreign commodities; or elſe, induſtry for increaſing the native, which are either conſumed at home, or carried abroad: the firſt is like diet, but the other like exerciſe, to an indiſpoſed body, which is the way of acquiring ſtrength and vigour; whereas the former gives but barely health. I believe the two great improvements to be made in Ireland, are of the fiſhing and the linen trade; this to keep our money at home, and that to fetch more in from abroad. If your lordſhip thinks theſe particulars worth your care, and that I can contribute towards them by any lights and aſſiſtances from hence, I ſhall be glad upon that or any other occaſion to receive your commands.

I have given my ſecretary order to make an extract of the news which either ariſes here, or comes to me by letters from foreign parts; which ſhall go weekly to you, if you think it worth the trouble, and will pleaſe in return to do me the juſtice of eſteeming me what I am with much truth and paſſion, my lord, your excellency's moſt obedient humble ſervant.

*To my lord Arlington.*

My Lord, Hague, June 3, N. S. 1670.

I Was extreme glad to find, by your lordſhip's of the 16th paſt, ſome aſſurance of your recovery; and whatever the name of your illneſs was, will believe the nature of it could not be very bad ſince it left you ſo ſoon: after which I will trouble you no more with my remedies; nor ſhall I need any myſelf after ſo great a one as your lordſhip has given me by the knowledge of your own and my lady's health: for which I make you my particular acknowledgments.

By obſerving the winds, I gueſs monſieur Van Beuninghen will, before this arrives, have given your lordſhip the account himſelf of his leaving the Hague on Sunday night, and ſetting ſail, I ſuppoſe, on Monday evening; unleſs madam Honeywood made him ſtay ſome hours longer, who had appointed to be with him by that time from Amſterdam. I will ſay nothing in favour of her pretenſion, but that ſhe is daughter to the ancienteſt Burgomaſter of Amſterdam, who has expreſſed the greateſt paſſion of any other of the States, in favour of the prince of Orange's late concernment, and may perhaps thereby deſerve ſome mark of his majeſty's favour, which I aſſure you I ſay wholly of myſelf: for my good offices in her buſineſs were not at all thought worth engaging, ſince monſieur Van Beuninghen undertook it, as I ſuppoſe he has done by their joining company. Your lordſhip will find nothing to leſſen your eſteem of his perſon, unleſs it be, that he is not always ſo willing to hear as to be heard; and out of the abundance of his imagination is apt ſometimes to reaſon a man to death; which I tell your lordſhip before hand, that you may not fall into any prejudice before you know him well: and on the other ſide, I have taken ſome care to prevent his employing

employing that talent too much in your converſations. For the reſt, you will find him *fort honnête homme*; one that puts all the good of his country upon maintaining and cultivating his majeſty's alliance; and who, upon the prince's occaſion, will deſerve the good will of our court.

For his manner of negotiating, I am confident you will find him not ill-bred, nor offering to impoſe his meaſures, as you call them, upon us: but, after any propoſitions and reaſons he ſhall lay before you, will rather tell you that you are maſters of all; and that the States will, in all things that concern our neighbours, perfectly follow thoſe his majeſty ſhall take.

Whatever reception the States propoſal about the Algerines meets with in England, I wiſh to God ſome better order were taken for preſerving our honour in the Mediterranean: for, what with the ill conduct of our captains, that they ſay will turn merchants, leaving our merchants to play the men of war, and with the late ſhameleſs loſs of the Sapphire; I aſſure your lordſhip, the reputation of our ſea-affairs and men decays abroad to a degree that is very ſenſible I am ſure to me, and I doubt will hardly recover without ſome new and ſevere diſcipline or examples.

The prince of Orange was introduced into the council of State on Saturday laſt, and with the circumſtances which he is very well pleaſed with. He reſolves upon his journey into England about the latter end of this month, or beginning of next: but will not fix the time till the Penſioner's return from Groningen about ten days hence. I am, my lord, your, &c.

## *To my lord Arlington.*

My Lord, Hague, June 17, N. S. 1670.

I WAS very glad to hear this morning of your lordſhip's being well arrived in town; where, I hope, the diverſions of your late journey have returned you with ſuch an encreaſe of health as is neceſſary for the ſupport of your great affairs, *Y para mi conſuelo.* Many French have lately paſſed this way ſince the return of that court; ſome who attended Madame into England, and extremely applauded her reception there, and his majeſty's great graciouſneſs to thoſe of her train. The count d'Eſtrades came likewiſe three days ſince, but I think barely on a viſit to his old home; or if he has any buſineſs, it is particular, and at Amſterdam. I find, they all agree in aſſuring us of the peace, as long as we can aſſure them of the king of Spain's life: but in giving us fair warning that whenever that fails their maſter will march into the reſt of Flanders without any circumſtance, and poſſeſs himſelf of it if he can. This knowledge, and that of the king of Spain's late ſickneſs, have given them ſome perplexity here, which is much relieved by this day's news of his recovery. But we find nothing yet towards the redreſs of the late untoward anſwer upon the arbitrage.

The prince of Orange continues ſtill the talk, as well as the deſires of his journey into England: but has of late been very earneſt to know my opinion, whether he be like to procure any ſatisfaction in his pretenſions there; ſaying, as I gueſs, induſtriouſly, that all his beſt friends here are of opinion, that in caſe that ſhould wholly fail him, his journey into England would prove of great prejudice to his affairs here, by letting his friends ſee how little he is conſidered by his majeſty, whoſe countenance will be a great ſupport to him in the courſe of his fortunes.

I durſt

I durſt not offer his highneſs the leaſt judgment of my own upon this matter; aſſuring him I was wholly ignorant of all his majeſty's affairs, beſides what related to this country; and particularly of the preſent ſtate of his revenue, or how much the late ſupplies have contributed towards the eaſe of it: upon which the prince ſeemed very deſirous that I would touch this point to your lordſhip, ſo as to have your thoughts upon it before he goes. This I ſuppoſe proceeds chiefly from the princeſs dowager, who declared her opinion poſitively to me ſome weeks ago upon this matter, to the ſame purpoſe, and, I hear, perſiſts in it; which yet ſhe does not in all things. For, I can aſſure your lordſhip, ſhe now profeſſes to be the moſt ſatisfied that can be with my conduct in relation to the prince, and makes me more acknowledgments than are fit for me to receive, ſince I pretend only not to have ſpoiled his buſineſs, which it had been the eaſieſt thing in the world for an Engliſh miniſter here to have done. I wiſh to God he do nothing towards the prejudice of it himſelf, by advice of younger or warmer heads: for this is a country where fruit ripens ſlowly and cannot be preſerved if it be gathered green. I am very confident from his laſt, as well as the preſent diſpoſitions I here diſcern, that his fortunes are in his own hands; and I hope he will make great advantages in the conduct of them, by your lordſhip's advices when he ſees you in England, of whoſe prudence and virtues he will go over with a very full perſuaſion.

Monſieur de Witt returned yeſterday to town, after fifteen days abſence at Groningue, about the compoſing ſome differences in that province.[b] There is a violent humour runs againſt him of late in the town of Amſterdam, upon pretext of his growing too far into the ſway of all affairs in this State by ſo long a miniſtry; and of advancing his own friends into offices



[b] *This was a year or two before he was maſſacred.*

and places of truſt, with too much induſtry. But I ſuppoſe the bottom of this is the ſame with that of all popular humours; that is, a deſign in the leaders to change the ſcene, that ſo thoſe who have been long employed may make room for thoſe who have been long out. I am not of opinion they will ſucceed to prejudice him ſuddenly, both becauſe his chief enemies acknowledge his great abilities and uſefulneſs to the State, and becauſe he will always have it in his power to fall in very conſiderably with the prince's intereſt, which the other party pretends to promote: though in ſuch a caſe his highneſs would have a hard choice with which wind to ſail: as indeed he is likely to fall into conjunctures here that will require all his prudence.

I thought fit to ſay thus much at once to your lordſhip, that ſo you may the better know what to make of twenty reports that may ariſe upon theſe occaſions. Though it will, I think, after all be our parts both in England and here, to ſeem the leaſt we can concerned in them, farther than our wiſhes to the perfect union of a State we are ſo near allied to; which we may, I ſuppoſe, own our opinion of, that it will never be compaſſed but by taking in the prince's intereſts, as far as can conſiſt with the liberty of the State; and making ſuch a perſon of him, as may in title, expence, and other circumſtances, repreſent the dignity of their commonwealth. I am ever, my lord, your, &c.

## *To the earl of Northumberland.*

My Lord, Hague, June 17, N. S. 1670.

BY the ſame poſt which brought me the honour of a late letter from your lordſhip, I received from other hands the news of my lord of Northumberland's having left to you the ſucceſſion of all his honours and fortunes; which gives me the occaſion of acknowledging your lordſhip's favour and memory; and at the ſame time

time of condoling with you upon the loſs of a father, whoſe great virtues and qualities muſt needs have made ſo many ſharers with you in this affliction. I hope the help which is given your lordſhip by ſo many of your ſervants and friends upon this occaſion, will ſerve to eaſe your own part in it: and that, after all that can be offered up to decency and to the memory of ſo great and excellent a perſon, this will find your lordſhip rather taken up with the imitation of his virtues, than the bewailing of his loſs: ſince this is but what he owed to nature and to age, and to the courſe of long infirmities; and the other is what will be due from your lordſhip, all your life, to your birth, your family, and yourſelf. Nor indeed can ever ſo much depend upon ſo few paces, as will now, upon thoſe your lordſhip ſhall make at your firſt ſetting out; ſince all men will be preſaging by them the courſe of your journey, as they will have indeed influence upon the eaſe as well as the direction of it. For my own part, I expect a great increaſe of your lordſhip's perſonal honour upon this occaſion; and that having been ſo excellent a ſon of a family, you will ſhew yourſelf the ſame in being now a father of it; ſince nothing makes men fit to command, like having learned to obey; and the ſame good ſenſe and good diſpoſitions make men ſucceed well in all the ſeveral offices of life. Thoſe, I know, will be your lordſhip's ſafety in entering upon a ſcene, where you will find many examples to avoid, and few to imitate: for I have yet ſeen none ſo generally corrupted as ours at this time, by a common pride and affectation of deſpiſing and laughing at all face of order, and virtue, and conformity to laws; which, after all, are qualities that moſt conduce both to the happineſs of a public ſtate, and the eaſe of a private life.

But your lordſhip will, I hope, make a great example, inſtead of needing other than thoſe of your own family, to which ſo much honour, order, and dignity,

have

have been very peculiar; as well as the consequences of them in the general applause, and the particular esteem of all those who have had the honour to know and observe it. Among whom there is none more desirous to express that inclination by his services, nor that has more of it at heart than, my lord, your lordship's most faithful and most humble servant.

*To the Great Duke of Tuscany.*

Hague, June 27,
SIR, N. S. 1670.

HAving so long taken part in whatever concerns the person or interests of your most serene highness, I could not fail to condole with you for your great loss, whereof all Christendom would have been sensible to the last degree, if the grief for such an accident were not lessened by the succession of a prince who has left such impressions of his person and merits where-ever he has appeared, as will never be worn out.

'Tis true, such is the composition of human things, that nothing is pure or without mixture; so that even upon this occasion I see some ground to mix my congratulation with my condolence, when I consider that your highness has finished your travels before the accession of this glorious charge. Your highness has added to your birth and wit all the advantages

Au Grand Duc de Toscane.

*De la Haye, 27 Juin.*
*Monsieur, S. N. 1670.*

*AYant pris depuis longtems une aussi grande part dans tout ce qui touche la personne ou les interêts de V. A. Sme, je ne pouvois manquer à m'affliger avec elle à l'occasion de la perte qu'elle vient de faire, & qui est telle, que la Chrêtienté en seroit inconsolable, si la douleur d'un evénement si triste n'étoit soulagée par l'idée du prince qui vient remplir la succession; on sçait que c'est un prince qui a laissé de sa personne & de son merite par tout où il a paru des impressions qui ne s'effaceront jamais.*

*Il est vray, que telle est la composition des choses humaines, que rien n'y est par & sans melange; le bien & le mal ne se laissant guere gouter séparement. En cette rencontre donc je vois dequoy mêler mes congratulations à mes condolances; je fonde les premieres sur ce que V. E. Sme avoit achevé tous ses voyages lors qu'un si glorieux fardeau luy est tombé en partage. Elle a ajouté*

vantages that the commerce of ſtrangers is accuſtomed to give; and you now find occaſion for the exerciſe of all, towards the government of your ſubjects. My wiſhes and applauſes ſhall not be wanting to your highneſs; though I know your conduct and good fortune will give me little occaſion but for the latter, as your highneſs's great qualities have already given me a great deal, to be, ſir, your highneſs's moſt humble and moſt faithful ſervant.

*au bonheur de ſa naiſſance, & à la penetration de ſon eſprit, tout ce que le commerce & la comparaiſon de divers étrangers chez qui elle avoit ſejourné, a accoutumé de donner. Cette riche moiſſon étant à peine faite, tant de talens ſont mis en ouvrage, & V. A. ſe voit à preſent obligée de les conſacrer au ſoin du gouvernement de ſes ſujets. Mes vœux & mes applaudiſſemens ne manqueront jamais à V. A. quoyque ſa conduite & ſa proſperité me repondent que je ne feray uſage que de ces derniers: ſes grandes qualitez avoient deja fourni beaucoup de motifs d'être, monſieur, de V. A. Sme, le très humble & très fidelle ſerviteur.*

## *To Sir William Godolphin.*

SIR, Hague, July 3, N. S. 1670.

I Have not had any thing of late worth your trouble, nor any of yours by me to acknowledge; though I ſhould have been glad to have received from your hand the aſſurance of what comes to me more uncertainly from others, of the catholic king's perfect recovery, and the Junto's diſpoſition to admit ſimply of his majeſty and the king of Sweden's arbitrage, as was propoſed. The great deadneſs of the ſeaſon in point of news would have excuſed you this trouble, but that the Swediſh miniſter here begins to purſue me hard for my offices towards the Spaniſh court for the ſecond payment, which he reckons to be already due by the expiration of eight months ſince the delivery of the guaranty. But monſieur de Witt and I are both of opinion, the Spaniſh ambaſſador's act may very well

well be conſtrued to ſignify eight months from the ſigning of the concert, which Spain always inſiſted upon as an eſſential part of the guaranty; and to begin the payments only upon the ſigning of it, which was the laſt of January paſt; by which calculation the ſecond payment will grow due at the end of next September. But this is fitter to be argued by Spain than by us: and that which is more neceſſary, is for them to provide ſo as the money may be ready here by that term, to recover by the fairneſs and eaſe of this payment the credit they loſt in Sweden by the difficulties of the laſt. In the mean time, if you can perſuade the Spaniſh court to ſignify to the Swediſh miniſter either there or here, that they have been put in mind of it by you; and to have it ſo much in their care as to provide that it ſhall not fail at the end of September, which they take to be the term it grows due; you will, I ſuppoſe, perform an office both neceſſary and grateful to all the parties intereſted in that affair. The Dutch would have enjoined it to their miniſter, if they had any preſent at Madrid; the want of which gives you more than your ſhare in theſe tranſactions They would fain engage monſieur Beverning to accept of that employment; which I wiſh for your ſake, but I doubt its ſucceeding.

The prince of Orange intends to go for England about the end of this month; and my lord Oſſory is ſhortly expected here to attend him in his journey. I am always, Sir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant.

## *To the earl of Eſſex.*

My Lord, Hague, July 7, N. S. 1670.

I Have received by this laſt poſt the favour of one from your excellency of the 18th paſt, which gives me the hopes of a ſudden diſpatch in your preſent negotiations, and the very welcome news of your intention

intention to paſs this way in your return; where I ſhall be very glad to find the occaſions I deſire of ſerving your lordſhip in a place that indeed better deſerves a paſſing viſit than any long abode.

Your excellency will have received by a former letter my condolements upon my lord Northumberland's death, which indeed was very untimely for himſelf, his family, and his friends. But if we needed greater examples how little defence is to be found againſt that enemy either from greatneſs or from youth, we ſhould have received a very ſufficient, as well as a very ſad one by an expreſs which brought this morning the news of Madame's death, by particular letters both to the States and to the Prince of Orange.

The French courier being not expected till to-morrow morning, I have not yet received any letter of it from my lord ambaſſador at Paris; and therefore ſhall give your lordſhip the relation juſt as it comes in the prince's letter, which ſays, that on Sunday laſt, being the 29th of June, N. S. Madame having eaten very well at dinner, and continued ſo ſome hours afterwards, about four o'clock in the afternoon, called for a glaſs of ſuccory water, which ſhe uſed to take every day about that hour; and having drank it off complained that it was very bitter, and preſently after began to find herſelf ill, and fell into violent fits of the cholic; upon which ſhe ſaid that ſhe was ſure ſhe ſhould die, and immediately ſent for her confeſſor, and with great reſolution diſpoſed herſelf to it, by paſſing through all the forms of that church upon ſuch occaſions. The news of her highneſs's illneſs was immediately diſpatched from St. Clou where the court then was, and occaſioned the king's coming preſently to her, who arrived about eight o'clock that night, and brought his chief phyſician with him; who both began to comfort her ſickneſs, and aſſure her, that her cholic could not eaſily carry away a perſon of her age. But

ſhe

ſhe perſiſted in aſſuring them of her death, ſpoke a good while ſoftly to the king; and afterwards ſaid aloud, that ſhe had no regret at all to die; but that her greateſt trouble was by ſo hard a ſeparation to loſe his majeſty's friendſhip and good graces which he had always expreſſed to her. She ſpoke to Monſieur in the ſame terms about her great willingneſs to die; which, ſhe ſaid, was the more, becauſe ſhe had nothing to reproach herſelf of in her conduct towards him.

The king left her about ten o'clock at night, his phyſician aſſuring him ſhe could not die of a cholic, or at leaſt not ſo ſuddenly as ſhe ſeemed to apprehend: but her illneſs and pain increaſing, ſhe expired about two o'clock in the morning, leaving great ſadneſs in that court, and regret in all thoſe who had the honour to know her.

Your excellency will eaſily imagine how ſenſibly his majeſty will be touched by this affliction; and therefore I am ſure you will receive the ſame part in it that I and all the reſt of his ſervants ought to do: which I ſhall not encreaſe by enlarging upon ſo ſad a ſtory, farther than by one particular more of the prince's letter; that her body being opened in the preſence of ſeveral perſons, and among them my lord ambaſſador, they could not find the cauſe of ſo ſudden a death.

Our news from Bruſſels is, that the Conſtable was to depart from thence on Saturday laſt, leaving the count de Monterey governor of thoſe countries by the queen regent's commiſſion for the interim, until a new governor ſhould be ſent from Spain, who they give out will be Don John, and that he will be there in a very little time, and take upon him that government for his life: but the certainty of this we muſt expect hereafter from Spain. The Daniſh envoy here tells me, he intends to go very ſhortly for Copenhagen, and

and that he hopes to find your excellency there, wherein I confeſs I differ with him. I ſhould be very glad to know whether he did me the right of conveying a letter I wrote to monſieur Guldenlew, in anſwer to one I received from him upon his laſt arrival in Denmark. Your lordſhip will oblige me to let one of your ſecretaries inform himſelf from one of his, whether ſuch a letter was received, without drawing it into any farther conſequence.

I beſeech your lordſhip to believe me always what I am with very much ſincereneſs, my lord, your excellency's moſt faithful and moſt humble ſervant.

## *To my lord Berkeley.*

My Lord, Hague, July 11, N. S. 1670.

I Received one from your excellency of the 11th paſt, by which you were pleaſed both to oblige and inform me: nor could any thing happen more agreeable to me than an occaſion of acknowledging as I ought the favour you there expreſs both to my friends in Ireland and to me: of which I am equally ſenſible.

I doubt not but your lordſhip will find in the looſe poſture of affairs in Ireland a great ſubject for your prudence and induſtry; in the application whereof I wiſh your lordſhip all ſucceſs and glory, being incapable at this diſtance to make any reflections on particulars, either the evils or the redreſſes: only as an old ſervant, I may have the liberty of putting your lordſhip in mind of one point wherein your reputation is much concerned, and upon which I doubt you do not much reflect: but if you ſhould continue this luxurious cuſtom of getting a luſty boy every year, people will think that you live like a voluptuous young man of twenty years old, and not like a ſtaid and wiſe governor of a kingdom: nor am I very well ſatisfied myſelf

ſelf, whether it be a thing that conſiſts with the gravity of a privy counſellor, much leſs of a lord lieutenant. But when I conſider that of ſo good a race we cannot have too many, I am forced to leave my cenſures to give your lordſhip much joy of your Iriſhman.

We have nothing here in diſcourſe but the ſad and ſurpriſing news of Madame's death: of which your lordſhip will have the particulars from ſo many hands, that I will not repeat them; nor enter into the general reflections that are made upon it in all places, I think, I am ſure here, without ſcruple or diſpute.

The Conſtable is gone for Spain, and left his government much as he held it: nor can I judge whether it came from his natural temper, or ſome contracted indiſpoſitions; for his health has been of late the cover for it: but theſe ſix or eight months paſt, he has been obſtinate to hear nothing of buſineſs, returning all that has offered by his neareſt officers, with [b] *Quire matar-me?* and paſſing his time with his virginals, his dwarf, and his gracioſoes. Some ſay, his imaginations reached ſo far as to raiſe up ſpirits and aſſaſſins when he was alone.

If Spain has no greater men, it is pity they have ſo great uſe of them; for, I am ſure, *Non tali auxilio nec de fenſoribus iſtis Tempus eget.* He has left thegovernment for the *interim*, by the queen regent's order, to the count de Monterey, whom he hated; and I hear count Marſyn ſays, he will not obey a man [c] *qui ne fait que naître*; becauſe he is but twenty-eight years old; but they have ſucceeded ſo ill with one [d] *qui ne ſongeoit qu'à mourir*, that I think it will not paſs for a very juſt exception; and our friend count Marſyn, who is hot at hand, will, I hope, come to himſelf, and help to keep all things quiet in Flanders till Don John's arrival, which is now talked of, but I am not the eaſieſt to believe it. I beg

[b] *Why do you kill me.* [c] *Who is but juſt born.* [d] *Who thought of nothing but dying.*

I beg your lordſhip's favour, or rather juſtice, both to eſteem and uſe me as, my lord, your, *&c.*

## *To my lord Arlington.*

My Lord, Hague, July 15, N. S. 1670.

I Was very glad to find that the great meaſure of his majeſty's grief upon Madame's death was a little leſſened by the ſatisfaction he had received, that it had paſſed without that odious circumſtance which was at firſt ſo generally thought to have attended it; and of which I endeavour in my diſcourſe here to allay the ſuſpicions, ſince I ſee his majeſty is convinced; though it is a very difficult matter to ſucceed in, after ſo general a poſſeſſion, which has been much increaſed by the Princeſs Dowager's curioſity, to aſk her phyſicians opinions upon the relation tranſmitted hither to one of them from his brother, who is the Dutch ſecretary at Paris; and pretends it came from Dr. Chamberlain, though ſomething different from what he tranſmitted into England. However it happened, it had certainly all the circumſtances to aggravate the affliction to his majeſty; which I am infinitely touched with, as well as with the ſenſe of an accident in itſelf ſo deplorable: but it is a neceſſary tribute we pay for the continuance of our own lives, to bewail the frequent, and ſometimes untimely, deaths of our friends. *Et levius fit patientiâ quicquid corrigere eſt nefas.*

The baron d'Iſola parted this day for Bruſſels, from whence he told me he would anſwer your lordſhip's laſt letter, by which he pretends to have drawn confidence of his propoſal's ſucceeding in England with the temper the Dutch had given it here: but he does not preſs the matter much at preſent, becauſe he does not pretend that the emperor's reſolutions are fully taken upon it, nor will be till after the interview, which is, as he ſays, about this time contrived between the

electors of Mentz and Triers; where an envoy from the emperor, another from the duke of Lorrain, and (as the baron pretends) from some other German princes, are to intervene, where the measures will be fully taken among them. In case his majesty should fall into the thoughts of admitting that conjunction, as monsieur de Witt tells me he has likewise some hopes given him from monsieur Van Beuninghen; I think it were best, however, reserving the declaration of any such consent until he were very well assured of the emperor's and the other German princes final and firm resolutions; which I know not whether we may be confident of learning from the baron d'Isola, whose business seems to be rather first to draw out our points, and make them his ground for persuading his court to agree with them; and thereby value himself both to his master, the German princes, and others, upon his own being the author of so great a negotiation: and perhaps, if his majesty have a mind to see the bottom of it, and wishes it effected for common interest sake, he could not do better than to acquaint the elector of Mentz privately with his thoughts upon it, and leave him to make use of that knowledge towards the preparing all pieces for the work. For I find that prince must be the spring of all the motions that are made in it on the German side: so that all will depend upon his dispositions and conduct; which for my part I pretend not to understand yet in this affair: for though his late envoy here visited me with great professions from his master to his majesty, and much civility to me; yet I fell into no sort of plain or confident discourse with him upon this matter; but finding him rather shy in it, I resolved not to be behind-hand with him in that point: and so we parted as wise as we met.

By this day's post I hear, the count de Monterey is declared governor of Flanders by way of interim;

which yet may laſt longer than is thought of, according to the ſlowneſs or uncertainty of the Spaniſh counſels, eſpecially Don John having now finally refuſed to accept that charge. The count Marſyn, I hear, ſays he will not obey a man *qui ne fait que naître*; becauſe the count Monterey is but twenty-eight years old, and therefore ſets on foot already many brigues againſt him both in Spain and Flanders, which we hear fear may produce very ill effects by increaſing the diſorders of Flanders, and thereby the temptations of France; tho' I hope our friend, who you know is ſomething hot at hand, may yet come to himſelf; for methinks his exception againſt the new governor is not very juſt, after having ſo long obeyed a man that thought of nothing but dying, and, for ought I hear, was by that apprehenſion rendered unfitter for his poſt than any he could have met with to leave in it, without very great luck. They much perſuade me here to make a journey to Bruſſels in this conjuncture, having heard me ſpeak of it this ſummer, and of having his majeſty's leave, becauſe they know I am acquainted with thoſe at preſent upon the ſcene: I find their deputies have no credit there, and come back only with diſſatisfaction and complaints; I ſee nothing like to take me up here, when I have obſerved this aſſembly of the States of Holland, and what they will do and promiſe further in the prince's buſineſs, which a fortnight will determine, and therefore am well enough inclined to it: but ſhould be much the more, if his majeſty ſhould think fit to compliment the count Monterey upon this occaſion, and ſave the expence of any expreſs perſon, by ſending him a letter with me to be delivered as one that goes wholly incognito, and without any character, as was laſt year intended I ſhould have done to the Conſtable; of which your lordſhip can eaſily ſatisfy me.

I find the prince has put off the thoughts of his

journey till towards the ſitting of the Parliament, upon which your lordſhip has writ, by whoſe advice his highneſs reſolves to ſteer in the courſe of his affairs and motions relating to England. I am ever, my lord, your, *&c.*

## *To Sir John Trevor.*

SIR, Hague, July 22, N. S. 1670.

I Am at once to acknowledge both yours of the 1ſt and 5th current, with the incloſed names of the Scots miniſters in the firſt; and in the other the laſt paper concerted with monſieur Van Beuninghen concerning the affair of Surinam.

Upon what concerns the Scots miniſters, I gave in yeſterday a memorial to the States; upon which I received this day a meſſage from them, expreſſing their readineſs to perform all parts of their treaties with his majeſty; and deſiring to know from me the ſeveral preſent abodes of the ſaid perſons, to the end they might direct their orders to them accordingly. But in this point I was not able to anſwer them at ſo ſhort warning, having not yet upon enquiry heard of any of the three perſons, excepting Mackard, who, it ſeems, lived ſome months ſince privately at Utrecht; but whether he continues ſtill there or no, I am yet ignorant; and therefore I told the States agent, that I would endeavour to inform myſelf of their abodes if I could; but would not take upon me to find them out in any certain place, ſince it was the cuſtom and intereſt of ſuch men to be as private as they could, and to ſhift often: and therefore I did not ſee any thing like to reach them but a publication of their names, with the States orders for their avoiding theſe dominions; which at ſome time and place or other could not fail of coming to them, and have the ſame effect that could be expected from a more particular direction.

I ſpoke with monſieur de Witt this morning concerning your laſt paper of Surinam, which he peruſed, having not ſeen it before, nor heard any thing of it from monſieur Van Beuninghen: and therefore he ſaid the States could not fall upon the debate of it without knowing upon what grounds or conſiderations monſieur Van Beuninghen might have made theſe changes ſince his laſt paper upon this ſubject, which they expected would have been final in this matter. Beſides ſome point wherein he thought the ſtyle not ſo clear, he obſerved two main alterations in the ſubſtance: the firſt is, that our ſhips could not carry [k] *des canons montés dans la riviere:* which, he ſaid, imports that they might carry what cannon they pleaſe, ſo they were not mounted, which is not the buſineſs of an hour's time; and is contrary (as he ſaid) to your firſt agreement with monſieur Van Beuninghen. The ſecond was concerning major Banniſter; whoſe landing is here poſitively allowed with the liberty of going to his own colony. Both which were (as he ſays) referred in monſieur Van Beuninghen's laſt paper to the governor's diſcretion and judgment, whether it might be done without danger to the colony. Upon both theſe points we had large diſcourſes, which ended with his aſſuring me, that he ſhould be the laſt to raiſe any ſcruples upon either of them; but doubted that the Zealanders might thereupon (eſpecially the laſt concerning major Banniſter) change their late proteſtations to clamours, which might occaſion the States-General to make more difficulty in theſe changes, unleſs they were ſatisfied in the reaſons of them by monſieur Van Beuninghen's diſpatch, to which all was of neceſſity to be referred

I hear monſieur Lionne entertained the Dutch ſecretary at Paris with the news he had received from Madrid, of that crown's joining this State with his ma-

[k] *Cannons mounted in the river.*

jesty and Sweden in the arbitrage; and at the same time with many reasons why his master could not admit of it; though he said he had not yet communicated it to him: however the declared opinion of such a minister seems to raise a strong prejudice in the case.

I am sorry the business of conventicles gives you so much trouble, and could wish we were at a good end of all such controversies, which make his majesty appear abroad to have so great and considerable a number of subjects that have not learned to obey him, and consequently make up no part of his strength, but seem rather to lessen it, and amuse people both at home and abroad with imaginations of changes. Yet monsieur Van Beuninghen hath represented it hither as a business which his majesty will easier master than you seem to be confident of: but their interest here may help them to believe as well as to desire it, upon the expectation of so many persons and stocks as will be brought over to them upon this occasion; and make, as they suppose, a considerable increase of their trade and diminution of ours. I am always, Sir, your, *&c.*

*To the Count de Monterey.*

Hague, July 22,
My Lord, N. S. 1670.

HAving long taken part in what regards the person and interests of your excellency, and having heard of your advancement to so great a charge as that of governor of the Netherlands, I would not fail of giving you joy, and letting you know the satisfaction I receive by it upon many accounts. For, since by the force of the present conjunctures,

Au Comte de Monterey.

*De la Haye, 22 Juill, Monsieur, S. N. 1670.*

*AYant pris depuis longtems beaucoup de part dans tout ce qui touche la personne & les interêts de V. E. & venant d'apprendre qu'elle a été pourvûe d'une charge aussi importante que l'est celle de gouverneur de Païs-bas; je n'ay pas voulu manquer à luy donner* el para bien, *& temoigner la joye que j'en ay ressenti pour plusieurs raisons. Car puisque par l'enchainement des conjonctures*

tures, it will be often neceſſary for me, in the poſt I am in, to have ſomething or other to negotiate with the governor of Flanders, about the common intereſts; I ſhall be very glad to enter into buſineſs where I have already entered into friendſhip, and to have to deal with a perſon who has already given me ſo many teſtimonies of his fair and prudent manner of tranſacting, as well as of his particular inclination for confirming the alliance between the crowns of both our maſters, and for the advancement of their intereſts, wherein the welfare and repoſe of Chriſtendom are concerned. And whereas the good order of affairs in Flanders is very important to his majeſty and the other parties of the triple alliance, as well as to the crown of Spain; I will hope, that by your excellency's conduct ſome good order may be taken for ſettling the affairs of the militia of this country: and in the mean time, an end be put to the complaints and miſeries of the inhabitants, ſince a government is never well eſtabliſhed but in the hearts of the ſubjects; nor ſo hard to be ſhaken, as when the generality of the people, as well as the nobility, finds no intereſt in the change. I doubt not but your excellency propoſes theſe ends, and will ſucceed in

*jonctures preſentes, & dans le poſte où je ſuis, il me ſera ſouvent neceſſaire de negotier, & d'avoir quelque choſe à demêler avec le gouverneur de Flandres, je ſeray fort aiſe d'avoir une liaiſon d'affaires avec celuy avec qui j'ay deja des liaiſons d'amitié; je me félicite d'avoir à faire à un ſage diſpenſateur qui m'a deja donné tant de marques de ſa noble & judicieuſe maniere d'agir. Avec quelle joye n'ay-je point vû vôtre penchant particulier à affermir l'alliance entre les deux couronnes de nos maîtres, & vôtre inclination à avancer des interêts qui ne tendent aujourd'huy qu'à procurer le bonheur & le repos de la Chrêtienté. Comme ſa majeſté & ceux de la triple alliance ont fort à cœur l'état des affaires de Flandres, auſſi bien que la couronne d'Eſpagne; je me fais un plaiſir de penſer que par la bonne conduite de V. E. on ſera enfin quelque bon reglement touchant la milice de Païs-bas, & qu'en même tems on mettra fin aux plaintes & aux miſeres des habitans; puis qu'un gouvernement n'eſt jamais ſi ſûrement établi, que lors qu'il a ſon ſiege dans le cœur des ſujets. Rien n'eſt ſi difficile à ébranler qu'un état où la multitude du peuple auſſi bien que la nobleſſe n'apperçoit point d'avantage dans un changement. Je ne doute point que V. E. ne ſe ſoit deja propoſé toutes ces fins, & qu'elle n'y reuſſiſſe, ayant une élevation*

in them, becauſe you are too generous to mix with them your own paſſions or particular intereſts, which will not be leſs glorious to you, than profitable and happy to Chriſtendom. And beſides the advantage Spain will make by your excellency's good conduct, they will ſave themſelves the trouble to think of a new governor, or to end an interim ſo advantageous to them.

My beſt wiſhes ſhall not be wanting to your excellency, nor my ſervices upon all occaſions where they ſhall be neceſſary; for no man is with more eſteem and truth than I am, my lord, your excellency's moſt humble and moſt affectionate ſervant.

*d'ame aſsés grande pour n'y laiſſer point entrer ſes propres paſſions, ni aucun interêt perſonel. Une telle conduite ne luy ſera pas moins glorieuſe qu'elle ſera utile pour la Chrétienté, & outre le profit que l'Eſpagne en tirera, elle luy ſauvera le ſoin de ſonger à un nouveau gouverneur, & luy ſera prendre le parti de prolonger un ſi heureux interim.*

*Mes vœux ne manqueront jamais à V. E. & mes ſervices ſeconderont mes vœux, toutes les fois qu'ils luy ſeront néceſſaires; car il n'y a perſonne qui ſoit avec plus d'eſtime & de verité que je ſuis, monſieur, vôtre,* &c.

## *To Sir John Trevor.*

SIR, Hague, July 29, N.S. 1670.

I Am to acknowledge one from you of the 12th, and hope the Dutch captain you therein mention is before this time arrived, and will prove what you deſire him, and thereby deſerve the encouragement you intend him. I know not why monſieur Van Beuninghen ſhould at preſent revive the propoſition concerning the emperor's admiſſion; ſince monſieur——confeſſes he thinks there will be difficulties made in it by the emperor himſelf; who has not yet declared himſelf to the elector of Mentz, nor, I believe, to the baron d'Iſola neither; though it be true what you obſerve, that it ought to be authentickly demanded on that ſide.

I hear no hopes at all from France of admitting this State into a part of the arbitrage: ſo that if Spain per-

perſiſts in the demand of it, as France no doubt will do in the refuſal, we ſhall be as much to ſeek in the end of the year, as we were in the beginning.

For what concerns the commands I received about the three Scotch miniſters; though I cannot find out their preſent abodes, yet I queſtion not to obtain what is deſired againſt them: there can only be one ſcruple, if theſe States will adhere ſtrictly to the treaty, which is the authentic knowledge of their being declared rebels by his majeſty; which I ſhould be glad to know, if it be ſo; though I ſhall in the mean time purſue it, as if I expected no farther informations.

I have ſo far preſſed them here upon aſſenting to the laſt paper tranſmitted by monſieur Van Beuninghen upon the affair of Surinam, that the States of Holland have agreed to it, and appointed three perſons to endeavour either to diſpoſe or to quiet the Zealanders, and to paſs it in the States-General: and I hope it will ſucceed, the town of Amſterdam concerning themſelves particularly in it for the ſupport of monſieur Van Beuninghen's credit.

The aſſembly of the States of Holland will ſeparate on Friday next, and are yet likely to agree in the long agitated impoſitions upon the French commodities before they part; the town of Rotterdam having (as I hear) this day at length aſſented; but with condition that it ſhall not be executed till after monſieur de Groot's arrival in France, and account from thence whether that king be diſpoſed to diſpenſe with the late rigours there uſed for diſcouraging all Dutch commodities.

Though nothing has been yet mentioned in this aſſembly concerning the prince; yet I am made believe they may, before they part, ſettle a penſion upon him, though a ſmall one of twenty-four or thirty thouſand franks a year, being only in conſideration of his ſeſſion in the council of State. I am always, Sir, your, *&c.*

*To*

## *To Sir John Trevor.*

SIR, Hague, Aug. 12, N. S. 1670.

SINCE my laſt, the States agent brought me a copy of the letter they had agreed on to the governor of Surinam; which, I ſuppoſe, they delayed till about the time of their diſpatching it away, becauſe they knew I would except againſt the limitation given to major Banniſter's landing; though they aſſure me, the governor ſhall have orders not to hinder it without very evident knowledge of the ill-conſequence it may have upon the peace of the colony; and that the Zealanders were ſo ſharp in this point, that they could not paſs it in any other form. I have likewiſe, ſince my laſt, been aſſured, from the ſeveral miniſters here, that the orders I deſire concerning the Scotch miniſters would be granted: but, that the thing being propoſed to the States of Holland then aſſembled, whom it moſt concerned, the perſons being ſuppoſed to be in their province; ſeveral of the Deputies declared they would not reſolve without communicating it firſt to their towns, among whom thoſe of Rotterdam were the chief: but their Penſioner monſieur de Groot, upon his departure from hence laſt Saturday towards France, aſſured me of his endeavours to clear all ſcruples in it before he left that town.

I have ſince received your commands in one of the 24th paſt concerning [y] Coronet Joyce, to which I can yet make no return, monſieur de Witt being out of town, and not expected till to-morrow: and I muſt firſt break it to him, by whom I can beſt know what I may hope for from the States in it; and withal contrive how it may paſs with ſuch circumſtances of ſecrecy, that the noiſe may not go before the ſhot. By the

[y] *Mentioned in the hiſtories of K. Charles I. for removing that king by force from Holmeby.*

the next I hope to give you an account how I am likely to ſucceed; and in the mean time will only aſſure you of my utmoſt diligence in a matter wherein you ſay his majeſty is ſo much concerned.

I doubt not but a great part of monſieur Van Beuninghen's errand was to diſpoſe us towards the admiſſion of the emperor, and therefore wonder not at his enforcing that propoſition: but yet, ſure the ground of his journey was the deſire of finding ſome temper in the buſineſs of the Eaſt-India trade, wherein I am very glad you hope for ſatisfaction from him; I mean upon that ſingle article which has ſo long ſtopped the marine treaty, and foiled me abſolutely in the purſuit of it. For the other point, I know not yet whether monſieur de Witt has received any new account from Mentz of the emperor's intentions; nor how much it ſignifies what the baron d'Iſola tells me, that the imperial miniſter there has declared his maſter's reſolution, of referring himſelf wholly to that elector for the conduct and concluſion of that affair: and that the ſaid elector hath declared his judgment of its being both fit and neceſſary; but that as to the propoſition of forces to be furniſhed by the ſeveral princes, he could not proceed to aſcertain it without more particular directions from the emperor, tho' his miniſter there preſſed him to it. All which ſeems to me a very general and looſe account for his majeſty to proceed upon; and to have ſomething of the baron d'Iſola in it, as well as of the negotiations of Mentz: and yet this is all the light I can get at preſent; nor do I well know where to expect better, the States envoy having already left that place.

I ſhall not fail of performing all the offices you pleaſe to enjoin me towards the preſerving our mutual confidence in this conjuncture; which I have endeavoured in all my diſcourſes here upon the duke of Buckingham's journey into France, ſince I firſt heard

of

of it: and I am confident to have ſucceeded with the moſt rational and intelligent. For common authors, they are not to be dealt with, being too many and too credulous to be reaſoned with upon ſuch points; the beſt is, their credit is of as little weight as their belief, and at laſt truth will ever out.

I hear the count Molina parted from Madrid upon his way through France into England about ſixteen days ſince; ſo as he ought to be by this time well advanced. The Spaniſh ambaſſador is likewiſe upon his return from Bruſſels hither; which, with other marks, confirms me in the opinion of the count de Monterey's being likely to find a long interim in the government of Flanders.

I have nothing more to increaſe your trouble, beſides the profeſſion of my being always, Sir, your, *&c.*

## *To Mr. Williamſon.*

SIR, Hague, Aug. 12, N. S. 1670.

I AM to acknowledge the favour I have lately received of two from you of the 22d and 26th paſt, with the advices you were pleaſed to give me of what paſſes with you in my lord Arlington's abſence: and know not what better return I can make you from ſo barren a ſcene as this is at preſent, but continuing the orders I gave upon Mr. Blaithwait's going out of town, for all the prints, as well as the papers of occurrences, to be conſtantly tranſmitted to you by my other ſecretary Mr. Downton; who tells me he does not fail you in theſe points, no more than I ſhall do in any other wherein I can ſerve you here.

I thought, in a time of ſo little motion or talk, to have uſed his majeſty's leave for a ſhort journey into Flanders; but ſome ſmall matter ſtill ariſes to keep me from being wholly idle; and, among others, the ſhadow of the Surinam buſineſs haunts me ſtill, tho' monſieur

monſieur Van Beuninghen aſſured me he would lay it upon his going over. I ſhould be glad to know if you find him as eloquent in a court as they do in an aſſembly of States here, and that he proves as good at concluding as at reaſoning.

I know, to a perſon of ſo much buſineſs an empty letter is an interruption, therefore will add nothing to this, but the profeſſion of being, Sir, your moſt humble ſervant.

## *To Sir John Trevor.*

SIR, Hague, Aug. 15, N. S. 1670.

UPON Tueſday night monſieur de Witt returned to town; and the next morning I went to him upon the affair wherewith you had charged me in your two laſt letters, whereof that of the 29th paſt gave me notice of the yacht's being diſpatched away. I related the occaſion to monſieur de Witt, and his majeſty's deſire upon it, as near as I could, in the manner and terms you had imparted them to me; adding of my own whatever I could think of, concerning the intereſt of this State in ſuch compliance to his majeſty, eſpecially where his perſon was concerned; and how fit it was for them to paſs over the want of ſmall circumſtances and obligations of treaties, in matters of ſo great importance to a King ſo nearly allied to them, and in whoſe ſafety and quiet they were ſo deeply concerned. He allowed all this latter part of my diſcourſe; and for the matter itſelf which I deſired, he told me, that whatever the States were obliged to by the treaty, they had power to enjoin the execution of, becauſe every province had already given their conſent to it: but in other matters the States-General had no power upon any point wherein the juriſdiction of a particular province was concerned: the union conſiſting of ſeven provinces, whoſe ſovereignty remained ſtill entire

to

to each of them. That for this reaſon it was impoſſible to ſeize upon a man reſiding in Holland, and ſend him over to his majeſty, by any other power but that of the States of Holland, who were not now aſſembled. That the ſeizing of thoſe criminals by Sir George Downing, happened to have been deſired at a time when the States were aſſembled, who gave their general conſent to it: whereas if the town wherein they were had diſſented and ſtood upon their privileges, it had not been in the authority of the States of Holland themſelves to command it.

After my expoſtulations upon theſe forms in their government, which made it much harder to treat with them, than they found it to treat with other princes; and monſieur de Witt's deduction of the ſeveral ſovereignties of their provinces, and privileges of their towns, from their original, as well as the framing them into an union (rather than a government) for their common defence; we fell at laſt into the conſideration of what could be done upon the preſent buſineſs, ſince we had found what could not. And he told me with great profeſſions of his own deſire to ſee it ſucceed, that if I put in a memorial to the States-General, beſides the danger of having it grow public, I ſhould loſe juſt ſo much time; whereas all they could do would be but to recommend it to the Committee de Raedt of Holland, to diſpoſe the magiſtrates of Rotterdam to ſeize upon the perſon I deſired, and keep him ſafely guarded, without ſuffering any approach to him but by my order, until the next aſſembly of the States of Holland, which will be about a month hence: and this, he ſaid, the Committee might do of themſelves; and he hoped they would, upon my writing a letter to the Preſident, eſpecially if I would take the pains to ſpeak beforehand to the ſeveral members of it: and in this he promiſed me his aſſiſtance; and withal, that if the magiſtrates of Rotterdam would ſeize and guard him till

the

the aſſembly of the States of Holland, he would then uſe all his endeavours to diſpoſe the ſaid aſſembly to ſend him over to the king, though he doubted much difficulty in it; and that the town of Rotterdam would never conſent to it, without an act from his majeſty to the States, that he ſhould be remanded to their town after he had been examined: for without ſuch an act, he ſaid, the town of Dort had abſolutely refuſed to ſend a perſon within their juriſdiction to the States themſelves.

Upon all theſe diſcourſes I reſolved, as the beſt I could do, to ſpeak ſeverally that evening with all the members of the Committee de Raedt that were in town, which I did as late as I could, ſo as to give the leaſt time for the matter's taking vent. They all agreed in the ſame account of the conſtitution of their government, which monſieur de Witt had given me; and aſſured me they would act as far in this buſineſs as they could do if it came to them from the States-General: but withal agreed they could do no more than recommend it to the magiſtrates of Rotterdam, upon whoſe reſolutions it would wholly depend. While I was late in theſe viſits on Wedneſday night, captain Harris came to my houſe, and told me of the yacht's being come to the Briell, but ſo ill uſed by the ſtorms ſhe had met with, that ſhe would need ſome repair before ſhe could go to ſea again; which I was very ſorry to hear, conſidering how ill her voyage was likely to ſucceed, and that I had no hopes of ſending her back with her intended charge. The next morning being Thurſday, I ſent my letters to the preſident juſt upon his going into the committee: and within an hour after, monſieur de Witt's brother, who is a member of it, came to me, and told me, that they had written a letter to the magiſtrates of Rotterdam to the ſame purpoſe I deſired, and with all the earneſtneſs they could; and, to enforce it the more upon them, had appointed him and monſieur

ſieur Voorburgh, another member of the ſaid committee, to go immediately thither, and to diſpoſe the magiſtrates all they could to the effectual execution of what was deſired.

I acknowledge the care and compliance of the committee: and becauſe I knew all depended upon ſuddenneſs and ſecrecy, and that I had been aſſured the day before of Joyce's being in town, I told him that I was reſolved to go myſelf, but as privately as I could, and be there as ſoon as they: and while they were diſpoſing the magiſtrates of the town, I would endeavour to ſet the fellow, ſo as to be ſure of him when the ſcout ſhould have orders to apprehend him. After this I went ſtraight to Rotterdam, and got privately into an houſe within three doors of Joyce's: and had not been there an hour, when the agent I employed to find him out, had met with him in the ſtreet, and ſtaid with him till he ſaw him go home to his own houſe. I ſent immediately to my two commiſſioners, (who, I heard, had arrived before me in town) to give them notice of it, in hopes of their being ready for me: but I found they were at the town-houſe, where the magiſtrates had been aſſembled ever ſince their arrival, and they could not be ſpoke with by the perſon I ſent to them till about an hour after: and then they told him, that they had been dealing all that time with the magiſtrates, who made great difficulties in the buſineſs, and they could not yet give me account what they would reſolve, but as ſoon as they could, they would come themſelves and give me notice of it. After this I waited with great ſpight and impatience till about five hours after the magiſtrates had been firſt aſſembled: the greateſt part of which time I could not have failed of my prize, if they had ſent their officers. But after ſeven o'clock at night, my two commiſſioners came to me and told me they had never ſeen the magiſtrates in greater perplexity, which had kept

kept them ſo many hours unreſolved what to do; that they ſaid it was abſolutely againſt the privileges of their town, to ſeize upon any man without a particular charge being ready againſt him: that this man, they heard, was a kind of mad extravagant fellow; that having long reſided in their town, he could be guilty of nothing towards his majeſty, unleſs it were of words, which people were very free of in their country, and amounted not to a crime that was thought to deſerve impriſonment; that they ſhould have been glad to know the words he was accuſed of; and that if they ſhould ſeize a man without any particular charge, the ſurety and protection of their town would be diſcredited, upon which much of their trade depended: and that they were confident, no town in Holland would do what was deſired of them: that however for his majeſty's ſake, and at the inſtance of the two commiſſioners, they had at laſt reſolved he ſhould be ſeized on, and that I ſhould have the examining of him if I pleaſed: but that if I could exhibit no particular charge againſt him, and he did not make himſelf guilty by his own confeſſion, they muſt releaſe him the next day. I replied plainly, this was juſt nothing to the purpoſe, and was only ſo much noiſe without any effect: that the king's demand was to have him ſent over, and that ſince that could not be done without the aſſembly of the States of Holland, my deſire was to have the man ſeized upon and kept till the ſaid aſſembly, or at leaſt till I received farther orders from his majeſty; and leſs than this was nothing at all. Hereupon one of the commiſſioners, ſeeing how much I ſtomached this dealing, told me, the magiſtrates had not abſolutely ſaid they would releaſe him: but the other replied, that it was true they had not abſolutely ſaid it, but that he muſt confeſs he found it was their intention. For my part, I thought it was beſt at a venture to be once ſeized on him if I could, and try whether I could

get any thing out of him upon his firſt ſurprize, and leave the reſt to farther endeavours; and therefore I deſired however that he might be ſeized. They told me, the magiſtrates doubted he was not in town: but when I had taken off that by evidence to the contrary, they ſaid the magiſtrates did not know the man, nor any of their officers; but if I could ſend ſomebody that did to the town-houſe, they would ſend their ſcout with him to execute what I deſired. This I preſently did; but the perſon I ſent found the magiſtrates ſtill unreſolved, and in very ill humour about it; and ſaying, beſides a great deal of what the two commiſſioners had before told me, that in caſe Joyce had ſaid he would kill the Burgomaſters, or burn their town, yet they ſhould never have thought of impriſoning him for it: and that it was hard to be put upon things ſo contrary to their privileges and their cuſtoms, as well as their intereſts. My agent, finding theſe difficulties, deſired leave for me to ſeize him with ſuch perſons as I could find myſelf: but this, they ſaid, could by no means be done; and if it ſhould be attempted without the officers of the town, the burghers would certainly riſe and reſcue him. With theſe kind of debates they put him off about an hour longer, making him twice withdraw, and come in again to them: but at laſt, when it was grown a very dark night, they gave order to their ſcout to go with him, and apprehend the fellow. Hereupon they went and ſearched his houſe, but without finding him, and two other of his uſual haunts with the ſame ſucceſs, but they found evident marks of his having had notice given him of his danger: for one at his houſe ſaid, he wondered I would ſearch for a madman, and that if he were aſſured I deſired only to examine him, perhaps it might be done; but that for the preſent he knew not where he was, having taken the key of his back door, where he ſeemed to believe he was gone out. By all that had happened,

I found

I found plainly the magiſtrates of the town had no intention the thing ſhould be done; and began to be aſſured of what I had always doubted, that ſuch a pack of raſcals of ſo many ſorts as had been long neſted in that town (more indeed than in all the reſt of Holland) had not made this choice without ſome good aſſurances from the magiſtrates of being protected there. I found as plainly, that without their reſolute and fair dealing in it it was to no purpoſe for me to endeavour it; and that my being there was already known, and had given ſuch an alarm, that ſome of Joyce's crew were walking continually up and down the ſtreets thereabouts ever ſince it grew dark, and others of them ſtanding at his door and his windows: and therefore, ſeeing that till this alarm was over there was no hopes of finding my game, I reſolved to ſpeak with the preſiding Burgomaſter, and engage him as far as I could for the effectual purſuit of the buſineſs; and make him ſee I underſtood well enough how it failed, and where it depended, and ſo leave the town before morning to give the fellow the more ſecurity. I ſent to the Burgomaſter about ten o'clock at night, deſiring not to have it taken notice of when I ſpoke with him: but he ſent me his excuſe by ſaying he was in bed: after which I ſent for the ſcout; and when he had confeſſed he had orders to take the fellow, and that he knew him very well (contrary to what the magiſtrates had pretended) I ſaid all that I could poſſibly to engage him in the purſuit of it; and told him, as the beſt argument, that I would give him myſelf a hundred ducatoons as ſoon as ever it was done, beſides repreſenting the diligence ſo to his majeſty, as that he might expect a greater gratuity. And for the better effecting of it, I deſired him to get me the keys of the town-gate that was near me, reſolving then to go out of town, and to paſs with torches before Joyce's door, that ſo he might ſee I was gone, and with me the per-

ſons I had employed in this buſineſs, and thereby grow ſecure of any farther danger for that night. And I deſired him, that about an hour or two after, he would once more ſearch for him at his houſe, and other places where he uſed. All this he promiſed very fairly, and all other diligences in it for the future; but to ſay the truth, in ſuch a manner, that I perceived plainly the fellow had his inſtructions given him after another faſhion, from thoſe that had more to do with him than I. And though I have expected ſome news from him all this day, I yet hear nothing. Since my coming home I have ſpoken again with monſieur de Witt, who profeſſes to be very ſorry for my ill ſucceſs; ſays I did prudently in coming away after my firſt attempt failed: that he knows not what to judge of the magiſtrates proceeding till the return of the commiſſioners; and hopes ſomething may be yet done by them, becauſe they were not come back this afternoon. He ſays he writ two letters himſelf to the magiſtrates, beſides that of the committee, to diſpoſe them more; becauſe he knew all would depend upon their hearty or faint proceeding in it, and aſſures me of all his farther endeavours.

For the buſineſs of Surinam; they will not believe their laſt letter ſhould not ſatisfy, ſince monſieur Van Beuninghen had repreſented that Banniſter's abſolute permiſſion was a thing deſired by you, but not inſiſted upon: ſo that, if it be farther preſſed, it muſt be by your orders after you received the laſt papers.

I aſk your pardon for any ill digeſtion of this letter, as well as for writing it in another hand, which my eyes force me to; and may all be attributed to the want of ſleep theſe two nights laſt paſt. I am however, Sir, your, *&c.*

*To*

## *To my lord Keeper.*

My Lord, Hague, Aug. 19, N. S. 1670.

I Have lately received the honour of one from your lordſhip of the 26th paſt; by which I was very ſorry to find that any occaſions had at all withdrawn your lordſhip's uſual concurrence in all great affairs, wherein his majeſty uſes the advice as well as labours of his miniſters; for the ſteadineſs of your lordſhip's judgment, and directneſs of your application to his majeſty's and the kingdom's honour and advantage in all your counſels, gave me at my laſt coming over hither much confidence in the ſucceſsful courſe of our affairs both at home and abroad: and the more your lordſhip eſtranges yourſelf from them, the more my confidence in that kind is like to abate; becauſe I am apt to think it not only an ill thing, but an ill ſign too.

I am glad to receive your lordſhip's opinion concerning the continuance of our meaſures abroad, becauſe I ſee not at preſent where we can take better: and I the more need ſome ſuch encouragements as your opinion gives me, becauſe, to ſay the truth, I ſhould not be very apt to concur with you in it from the obſervation I can make from hence of ſeveral other circumſtances: however, nothing ought to diſcourage ſuch public hearts as your lordſhip from contributing all they can to the firmneſs of ſuch counſels, as they eſteem moſt juſt and ſafe at leaſt, if we are not in condition to think ſo far as glorious:

*Multa dies variuſque labor mutabilis ævi*
*Detulit in melius*——

We have nothing new nor material in preſent agitation upon this ſcene. The laſt little commiſſion I had

was as troubleſome as unſucceſsful; and proceeded certainly, in the manner of it, from want of knowing or conſidering the conſtitutions of this government; which makes me confident your lordſhip had no part in directing in it, no more than my lord Arlington, who was out of town.

I wiſh your lordſhip perfect health and ſatisfaction; and that when neither of theſe make it neceſſary, you may not be too much at your country-houſe. Tho' in all places I ſhall be ever with equal conſtancy and truth, my lord, your lordſhip's, *&c.*

## *To the duke of Buckingham.*

My Lord, Hague, Aug. 21, N. S. 1670.

AS your grace will, I hope, meet with many new entertainments on this ſide the water; ſo you muſt, I fear, be content with ſome new troubles: for both uſually happen upon all changes. I wiſh your grace all that can be of the firſt, and ſhould not have given you any of the other, but to rejoice with you upon your happy arrival at Paris.

From ſo little and barren a ſcene as this is at preſent, I cannot offer at informing your grace of any thing; eſpecially, ſince men expect here to receive all their material informations from your motions where you now are, and from what ſhall ſucceed them at your return. But, to leave theſe people in their doubtful and myſtical reflections, I ſhall not interrupt either your grace's buſineſs or leiſure with any thing but what is plain and certain; for nothing is more ſo, than that I am with equal paſſion and truth, my lord, your grace's moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant.

## *To my lord Falconbridge.*

My Lord, Hague, Aug. 22, N. S. 1670.

I Was very glad to find by your lordſhip's of the firſt current, that the ſuddenneſs of your return therein mentioned, was owing to the diſpatch of your buſineſs in Italy, and to the care of your health; and conſequently, that you receive from it both honour and ſatisfaction. I ſhall eſteem it a great deal of both to me, if you continue ſo favourable intentions as you expreſs, of taking this place in your way; where your lordſhip may promiſe yourſelf whatever my ſervices can be worth to you. I expect my lord of Eſſex with my lady here every day; unleſs they have changed their deſign ſince their arrival at Hamburgh, where they came about ten days ſince, after my lord's having diſpatched all his affairs in the Daniſh court. Our treaty with Spain for regulating the affairs of the Indies came ſigned to London laſt week, from whence, I doubt not, it will be ſuddenly remitted with its ratification. All here is in great quiet and ſilence, and like to continue ſo, unleſs France furniſh us with ſome new diſcourſe.

I have hitherto writ by Mr. Perwich's conveyance, but chuſe to ſend this by Sir John Finch's, who is like to be a nearer obſerver of your motions. But I will not give your lordſhip a long and empty interruption, which has little elſe to bear it out beſides the profeſſion of my being, my lord, your lordſhip's moſt faithful humble ſervant.

## *To the Great duke of Tuscany.*

Hague, Aug. 25,
SIR, N. S. 1670.

I Received almoſt at the ſame time the honour of two letters from your moſt ſerene highneſs; one of March the 31ſt, with an entire vintage of the fineſt wines of Italy; and the other of the 5th inſtant, with your highneſs's condolences upon the death of Madame. The great delay of the ſhip that brought the wine, and your highneſs's great diſpatch to make a compliment ſo ſad and ſo obliging, were the cauſe that two letters of ſo different date, arrived almoſt together. For I have much reaſon to commend the diligence of monſieur Ferroni, in conveying me all your highneſs's favours. I find the wines admirable, and ſeeming to reſemble their prince, in having loſt nothing of their natural taſte or goodneſs, by the length of their voyage, or the extreams of heats or colds. And herein I am more obliged to your highneſs than you imagine, not only for having made

## Au Grand Duc de Toſcane.

*De la Haye, le* 25
*Monſieur, Aout, S. N.* 1670.

*J'AY quaſi reçu en même tems les deux lettres que V. A. Sme, m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire; l'une datée du* 31 *de Mars, & accompagnée des plus riches vendanges d'Italie, je veux dire, de ſes vins les plus exquis; & l'autre du* 5 *du courant, avec les complimens de condolance de V. A. ſur la mort de Madame. Le long retardement du navire qui a apporté les vins, & l'empreſſement de V. A. à me faire un compliment auſſi triſte qu'obligeant; ces deux choſes ont fait, que deux lettres ſi fort éloignées par leurs dates, ſe ſont preſque rencontrées à leur arrivée. Car j'ay beaucoup à me loüer de la diligence avec laquelle monſieur Ferroni tache de me faire tenir les faveurs de V. A. Les vins m'ont paru excellens; & ſi j'oſois, je dirois volontiers, qu'ils ſemblent tenir quelque choſe du prince qui les envoye; les changemens de climat, la longueur & les traverſes du tranſport, la rigueur de l'hyver, ni les ardeurs de l'été, ne luy ont rien fait perdre de ſa ſeve & de ſa force; & cela, ne fournit il pas un embleme aſſez naturel de la perſonne de V. A. J'ay, au reſte, plus d'obligation à V. A. qu'elle ne penſe, ſur ſon preſent de vins, non ſeulement parce qu'elle m'a fait*

made me taſte the delights of ſo fine a climate in ſo miſerable a one as this; but alſo for having by the ſame means given me the talent of a drinker, a quality I wanted very much to acquit myſelf of an embaſſy in Holland.

I cannot tell whether your highneſs by your moving expreſſions upon the deplorable death of Madame, has more diſcovered the beauty of your wit, or the greatneſs of your affection to the king my maſter: therefore I hope your highneſs will not take it ill that I have ſent his majeſty a copy of your laſt letter, by which you have given ſuch ſenſible proofs of the part you take in whatever happens to the royal family.

The States General are very much ſurprized at the news brought them this day from France, in an expreſs ſent them from their miniſter at Paris, which aſſures them of the march of the French troops towards the frontier, to the number of 30000, where they are to rendezvous at Peronne: but it is not yet known whether their deſign be upon Flanders or this country, or whether they project any other meaſures. However the alarm is here ſo great, that they have

*fait gouter des delices du plus beau païs du monde, ſous le climat le plus triſte; mais ſur tout, parce que ſon preſent m'a excité à devenir beuveur, qualité qui me manquoit abſolument, & qui eſt pourtant neceſſaire pour ſe bien tirer d'une ambaſſade en Hollande.*

*Je ne ſay ce que V. A. fait le plus paroître dans les expreſſions ſi touchantes dont ſa lettre eſt remplie, ou la fecondité de ſon eſprit, ou ſa tendreſſe de cœur pour le roy mon maître. C'eſt pourquoy j'eſpere que V. A. ne me ſçaura pas mauvais gré d'avoir envoyé à ſa majeſté la copie de ſa derniere lettre, dans laquelle elle a donné des marques ſi tendres de la part qu'elle prend aux evenemens de la famille Royale.*

*Les Etats Géneraux paroiſſent ſurpris de la nouvelle que leur a apporté un exprès depéché par leur miniſtre à Paris, qui vient de leur apprendre la marche des troupes Françoiſes au nombre de 30,000 hommes; elles s'avancent vers les frontieres, & leur rendez-vous eſt marqué à Peronne. On ne decide point encore ſur le deſſein de cette marche, & on ignore ſi elle regarde ou la Flandre ou ce Païs icy; & on ne ſait point ſi l'approche de ces troupes ne tend point à cacher les veritables deſſeins, & à mieux réüſſir dans les meſures qu'on priſes. Quoy qu'il en ſoit, l'alarme eſt icy à un tel point, qu'on*

im-

immediately resolved to continue six thousand men, which they were just going to disband: they have also ordered the council of State to compute what forces and provisions they shall judge necessary in case of a rupture with France: and have dispatched a boat from Scheveling to England with orders to monsieur Van Beuninghen (who is upon the point of departing) to stay till farther orders from the States.

For myself, I know not what to judge of these appearances; I shall ever complain of any events that are like to endanger the quiet of Christendom, to which I have for some time (under the orders of his majesty) dedicated all my cares. And without doubt, if the war opens at present, great conjunctures will arise, whereof perhaps there will be reason to give your highness joy, not for being out of the noise of them; but because great princes only wait for great occasions. I am, Sir, your highness's, &c.

*a pris sur le champ la resolution de continuer la solde à six mille hommes qu'on alloit congedier; que la conseil d'état a ordonné de dresser promptement un état de guerre, qui comprît tant les levées d'hommes, que les munitions de bouche & de guerre, qui seroient estimées necessaires, en cas de rupture avec la France. Qu'enfin on a fait partir de Schevelin en diligence une barque pour l'Angleterre, avec ordre d'y retenir monsieur Van Beuninghen qui étoit sur le point d'en partir.*

*Pour moy, je ne say ce que je dois juger sur toutes ces apparences; je gemiray toujours sur les evenemens qui pourront mettre en danger le repos de la Chrétienté, qui depuis un tems, & sous les ordres de sa majesté, a été l'objet de mes veilles & de mes soins. Et sans doute que si la guerre recommence, elle va donner lieu à des grands evenemens, desquels on aura peut-être à donner* el para bien *à V. A. non comme éloignée de la tempête, mais parce que les grands princes ne respirent que les grands occasions. Je supplie V. A. de m'en offrir toujours, par lesquelles je puisse luy marquer avec combien de passion & de verité je seray toute ma vie, monsieur, de V. A. Sme,* &c.

To

*To the Procurator of the court of Holland, upon the rights of ambaſſadors.*

ONE of my ſecretaries having given me a copy of a paper ſigned by you, F. de Bruſis, which was brought to my houſe, and given to one of my ſervants; by which paper you ſummon one N. Watt, valet or footman to the Engliſh ambaſſador to appear before the court of Holland: by the title you give the ſaid N. Watt, you make it plain, that you believe him to be actually in my houſe and ſervice. Upon which I have thought good to tell you that I look upon you as an inſolent fellow, for daring to bring ſuch a paper into my houſe; and that I do not intend any of my ſervants ſhall be looked upon as ſubject to the juriſdiction of any court of this country, or of any other beſides thoſe of the king my maſter: and if any of them offend againſt the laws, complaint muſt be made to me, that I may either order juſtice to be done, or deliver the offender of my own accord to be puniſhed by the law of the place, having beforehand diſmiſſed him from my ſervice. Therefore I do not deſign to be expoſed to ſuch an inſolence as this that you have committed againſt me, in treating me like one of your burghers,

Au Procureur de la cour d'Hollande, ſur les droits des ambaſſadeurs.

*UN de mes ſecretaires m'ayant fait voir la copie d'un billet ſigné par vous F. de Bruſis, qui a été porté dans ma maiſon, & donné à quelqu'un de mes gens, & par lequel billet vous ſommez un certain N. Watt, valet ou lacquais de l'ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre, de comparoître devant la cour d'Hollande, par la qualité que vous donnez au dit N. Watt, vous faites bien connoître, que vous le croyez actuellement dans ma maiſon & attaché à mon ſervice; là-deſſus j'ay trouvé bon de vous dire que je vous tiens pour un inſolent, d'avoir oſé porter un tel billet dans ma maiſon; & que je ne pretens point, qu'aucun de mes gens ſoit regardé comme relevant de la juriſdiction d'aucune cour dans ce païs icy, ni d'aucune autre que de celles du roy mon maître: que ſi quelqu'un d'eux commet quelque choſe contre les loix, on n'a qu'à m'en faire des plaintes, afin que j'en faſſe faire la juſtice, ou que je le livre de mon propre gré à la rigueur des loix du païs, l'ayant prealablement congedié, & chaſsé de ma maiſon. Je ne pretens donc pas être expoſé à une inſolence pareille à celle que vous venez de commettre contre moy, en me traitant comme un de vos bourgeois, tant par le billet laiſsé chez moy, que par le ſon de la*

cloche

hers, as well as the paper left in my house, as by the ringing of the bell, whereof you make mention. What I here say, you may let your masters know from me, by whose order you pretend to have acted. Besides, for their farther information, let them know that while I reside in this country, I will never suffer the rights and privileges so long granted to ambassadors by the law of nations, and hitherto observed and respected by all princes of Christendom, to be violated, or any way infringed in this country in my person, under pretence of any particular sovereignty of a province or privilege of a city, in a commonwealth where I have the honour to serve a king in quality of his ambassador.

*cloche dont vous faites mention. Tout ce que je viens de vous dire, vous pourrez le dire de ma part à vos maîtres, par l'ordre des quels vous dites avoir agi. Au surplus, & pour leur plus grand éclaircissement, qu'ils sachent, que durant mon sejour en ce païs, je ne souffriray jamais que les droits & les privileges accordez depuis si longtems* jure gentium *aux ambassadeurs, & jusqu'icy observez & respectez dans les états de tous le princes de la Chrêtienté, soient violez, ou le moins du monde alterez en ma personne en ce païs, sous les pretextes d'aucune souveraineté particuliere d'une province, ou le privilege de quelque ville, dans une republique où j'ay l'honneur de servir un grand roy en qualité de son ambassadeur.*

## *To monsieur——upon the death of his daughter.*

Hague, Sept. 1,
SIR, N. S. 1670.

YEsterday late in the evening I received an account of your loss; and can assure you that my wife, my sister and myself, were so sensibly afflicted at it, that if it were possible grief could be lessened by being communicated with real friends, upon these sad occasions, you would have immediately found some consolation in yours. I must confess,

## Au Monsieur—sur la mort de sa fille.

*De la Haye, 1 Sept.*
*Monsieur, S. N. 1670.*

*ON me donna avis hier au soir bien tard, de la perte que vous venez de faire, & je puis vous assurer, que moi, ma femme, & ma sœur en avons été si sensiblement touchés, que si l'affliction pouvoit être diminuée par celle qui se communique aux véritables amis en ces tristes occasions, vous auriez sur le champ épreuvé du soulagement en la vôtre. Il le faut avouer,*

*vôtre*

fess, your grief is lawful enough, and founded not only upon the dictates of nature, but upon the merits of her you lament; so that to pretend to comfort you by other considerations than those which your prudence, and, above all, which your piety would suggest, would be to attempt an unprofitable work. God has pleased to impose this tribute for the continuance of our lives, often to lament the death of our friends. We must learn to submit and resign to his will, which is the wisest and most christian part we can follow. To this I shall add, that the desires of your friends who yet remain, and your care of their interests, to demand from you that you will preserve yourself to them. Among these, there is none who is more than I, Sir, your most humble and most affectionate servant.

*vôtre douleur est bien legitime, elle est fondée non seulement sur les devoirs de la nature, mais encore sur le merite de la personne que vous pleurez. Ainsi pretendre vous consoler par d' autres reflections que celles que vôtre prudence, et sur tout vôtre pieté vous suggereront, ce seroit tenter une chose inutile. Il a plû à Dieu imposer une peine durant le cours de nôtre vie, qui est l'obligation de pleurer frequemment sur la mort de nos proches & de nos amis. Il faut se soumettre, & apprendre à se resigner à sa volonté; c'est là l'unique bon parti, & le seul qui soit & veritablement sage, & veritablement crétien. J'ajouteray à cela, que les prieres des amis qui vous restent encore, & le soin de leurs interéts, demandent que vous vous conserviez. Parmi ceux qui prennent la qualité de vos amis, il n'y a personne qui vous soit plus acquis que, monsieur, vôtre très humble & très affectionné serviteur.*

## *To my lord Arlington.*

My Lord, Hague, Sept. 2, N. S. 1670.

I MUST in the first place rejoice with your lordship upon your return to town, and to the exercise of your usual cares, which are so necessary to the service of his majesty and the kingdom, that I cannot doubt any thing is meant us so ill as the danger of your lordship's health; though I find by your last of the

19th

19th paſt, that you had fallen into ſome indiſpoſition upon your return: but the length as well as the clearneſs of all your lordſhip's diſcourſes in it, give me the confidence that it was already paſt.

I have underſtood from monſieur de Witt the ſum of all monſieur Van Beuninghen's diſcourſes with his majeſty upon the ſame ſubject as thoſe with your lordſhip, of which you were pleaſed to give me account: and do not find that monſieur Van Beuninghen has failed of receiving all the aſſurances from the king that he could wiſh, concerning the negociations of the duke of Buckingham in France: for he has not only tranſmitted them to the States, as he received them at court, but added likewiſe his own opinion upon them. That as far as human appearances will go, he has all the reaſon that can be to believe, that nothing has been treated of by the ſaid duke, nor was ever intended to be ſo in the French court to the prejudice of his majeſty's alliances here. For the reſt, they take it as well as they can, that they ſee no advance made in the propoſitions of the emperor's joining with thoſe of the triple alliance in the guaranty of the peace: which I ſuppoſe touches them ſo much the more by the news brought this day to the States; which I am now to give your lordſhip an account of, as of the way I received it.

Juſt as I was ſitting down this day to dinner, the States agent came to me, deſiring that their commiſſioners might have the liberty to ſpeak with me, tho' at that unuſual hour, being of a matter newly come to them, and of very great importance. I conſented: and thereupon monſieur de Witt came in the head of the other commiſſioners, and told me that the States had newly received certain advice from France of the date of the 29th paſt, that the Chevalier de la Fourrille, who had been diſpatched ſecretly from court ſome days before the breaking up of the camp at St. Germains,

Germains, and with the troops quartered near the borders of Lorrain, made a ſudden march into that country, and ſeized upon the city of Nancy; and that by ſo unexpected and quick an attempt that he failed very little of ſurprizing the perſon of the duke, and had taken the dutcheſs. That the duke eſcaping, had retired to a ſmall but ſtrong place called Bidſch; where he buſied himſelf in aſſembling what forces he could for his defence. That the Mareſchal de Crequy being diſpatched from Paris had met this news upon the way, and returned with it to court; from whence he was diſpatched in haſte the ſecond time to Lorrain. That the French camp near St. Germains was marched towards Peronne under the command of monſieur Vaubrun: but that by orders ſent after them upon the way, they were to be divided into two bodies, of which one was to march away to the Mareſchal Crequy in Lorrain, and the other towards Sedan; where they ſhould make a ſtand, and face any attempts that might be deſigned from Flanders or this country towards interrupting the ſucceſs of their affairs in Lorrain. Monſieur de Witt told me farther, that the States having conſidered theſe advices, had ordered them (the commiſſioners) immediately to acquaint me with them; and farther, that though the States eſteemed it a matter of ſo great importance, that all the parties of the triple alliance ought to concern themſelves in it, as wholly deſtructive to thoſe ends of conſerving the Spaniſh dominions, which were mutually propoſed in the ſaid alliance; yet they (the States) ſhould not, nor indeed could not, proceed to any reſolutions thereupon, without firſt knowing thoſe of his majeſty, and being aſſured of his vigorous conjunction. And hereupon they deſired me to give his majeſty notice immediately by an expreſs, to the end that I might know his ſenſe and intentions upon this conjuncture; or at leaſt be inſtructed to confer with the States upon it.

After this, much was enlarged by monſieur de Witt and the commiſſioners concerning the very great importance of the ſeizure of Lorrain; as the cutting off Burgundy wholly from the reſt of the Spaniſh dominions, as well as all farther communication between any of the Netherlands, and many of the princes of Germany, with the Switzers. So as they compared Lorrain to a citadel in a town, from which all the reſt would be commanded at pleaſure. They added, that the dutchy of Luxemburg would be in a manner blocked up, and maimed in their mutual aſſiſtance with the reſt of the Spaniſh provinces; that the electors of Mentz and Triers would have the French feet upon their throats: and conſequently, that whenever France ſhould begin with Flanders after the poſſeſſion of Lorrain, the country of Burgundy would be their own in an hour, and Flanders in a very ſhort time, without greater and readier aſſiſtances than there ſeemed to be any reaſonable hopes for.

After this, they told me, they had received likewiſe a new account by this poſt, of all the French preparations at ſea, and the preſent eſtate of their own fleet; of which they gave me this incloſed liſt. And by all I can gather from their diſcourſes, I judge they are capable of any vigorous reſolution that his majeſty ſhould think fit to inſpire them in conjunction with us: but that without it they are reſolved, as they expreſs it, [d]*De laiſſer agir au bon Dieu, & de voir la France à leurs portes ſans ſe remuer.* Upon all which they pretend, that the diſpoſal and balance at this time of all affairs in theſe parts of Chriſtendom, lie before his majeſty: from whom both the Empire and Spain, as well as Sweden and this State, will receive their meaſures.

Three days ſince the baron d'Iſola was with me, to

[d] *To leave it to God, and to ſee the French at their doors without ſtirring a foot.*

communicate

communicate a letter he had newly received from the emperor, declaring his reſolution to join with the triple alliance in the guaranty of the peace of Aix, which he deſired me to give his majeſty part of by the poſt: but having told me at the ſame time, that he reſolved to give your Lordſhip the ſame account, I omit to trouble you with any further particulars. He came to me again juſt upon the cloſe of what I have written, and ſhewed me a letter from monſieur Louvigni at Bruſſels, containing the particulars of what has happened in Lorrain, and little different from thoſe I had before received by monſieur de Witt; only that the duke of Lorrain reſolved to retire with all his forces into the mountains, and hopes to defend himſelf ſome time, provided he might be ſure of not being abandoned. I am ever, my lord, your, *&c.*

## *To my lord keeper.*

My Lord, Hague, Sept.——N. S. 1670.

I Lately gave my lord Arlington the account which was given me by the States commiſſioners, of the ſeizure of Lorrain, with their reflections upon it, and the conſequences it muſt needs have upon all the affairs of Chriſtendom; and their deſires of my communicating all from them with ſpeed and care to his majeſty: which I did.

I have ſince received by laſt poſt, and by a letter from his lordſhip, the king's orders for my immediate repair into England, and for my acquainting the States with it; and that it is only with intentions of my informing his majeſty better in the ſeveral points that concern the preſent conjunctures of my ſtation here. This I have done in a conference upon it with M. de Witt. I found him at firſt very penſive upon the news of it, and apt to reflect upon this happening ſo

ſoon and unexpectedly after the late ſeizure of Lorrain; and both after the many delays and difficulties raiſed by us (as he apprehends) in admitting the emperor to the guaranty of the peace of Aix in conjunction with the triple alliance, which we formerly ſo much deſired. He remembered at the ſame time the many inſtances we have made for many months paſt about ſuch a trifle as the carrying off our planters from Surinam (whom he takes by the articles to become their ſubjects) and the invincible difficulties in which we have engaged matters between our Eaſt-India companies; in which, he ſays he is aſſured, our merchants have no part, but as they are inſtigated by ſome perſons at court, whoſe ill intentions he fears towards the late alliances contracted between his majeſty and theſe States, both for our own mutual ſafety, and that of all Chriſtendom. He reflected upon a coldneſs in all our negotiations of that kind, ever ſince Madame's journey into England; and upon the late journey of the duke of Buckingham's to Paris, which he could not think was [b] *pour voir le païs, ou apprendre la langue*; and deſired I would tell him what I could make of all this laid together: for, on the one ſide, there were circumſtances enough to awake a ſuſpicious man; and, on the other ſide, he could never think it poſſible for any nation, or court itſelf, to quit ſo certain a point of intereſt and great a point of honour, as muſt be forfeited by our breaking our alliances with this State, or entering into any with France, whoſe greatneſs had occaſioned our meaſures for our own as well as our neighbour's defence. He ſaid, I knew the beſt of any how all theſe matters had paſſed: how his majeſty had engaged theſe States in thoſe common meaſures, and even prevailed with them to make a ſacrifice of the ancient kindneſs and alliance this State had always before with France, to the conſiderations of the preſent

[b] *To ſee the country, or learn the language.*

danger

danger from the greatneſs of that crown to the reſt of Chriſtendom; though they might have had what terms they pleaſed from them for the dividing of Flanders. That I knew with how inviolate faith and firmneſs the States had conſtantly obſerved, for theſe two years paſt, their friendſhip and alliances with his majeſty, and how great a part I had in contracting and purſuing them, by the particular confidence the States and he eſpecially had in my perſon, as one that was perſuaded of our common intereſts, that knew my maſter's mind, and would not be an inſtrument to deceive thoſe that truſted me. For theſe reaſons, he ſaid, he deſired to know my opinion upon this whole matter, eſpecially that of my journey into England; which, he ſaid, would be very ſurprizing to every body here, and therefore he would be glad to give the news of it to the States in the beſt manner he could.

I proteſted to him that I had hitherto received conſtant aſſurances, from both the ſecretaries of State, of his majeſty's reſolutions to obſerve conſtantly the meaſures in which he was engaged to this State, and that I knew not a word more of the reaſons of my ſudden journey into England, than what I had told him. That I had orders to leave my family behind me: and that his majeſty might poſſibly think it neceſſary for his information to ſpeak with me upon the preſent conjunctures, and to return me immediately according to my lord Arlington's letter. That, I confeſſed, I was apt to make many of thoſe reflections that he had done; but could not believe it poſſible for any crown ever to enter into counſels ſo deſtructive to their honour and ſafety as thoſe he ſuſpected. That if ſuch a thing ſhould ever happen, I deſired him to remember what I told him upon the ſcruples he had made in truſting our court upon the negotiations of the triple alliance; which was, that I told him then what I thought of his majeſty's diſpoſitions and reſolutions,

as well as thoſe of his miniſters: that I could not believe it poſſible for them to change in a point of ſo evident intereſt, and which would be ſo underſtood by the whole nation. That however I could anſwer for no body beſides myſelf, but this I would; and that if ever ſuch a thing ſhould happen, I would never have any part in it. That I had told the king ſo as well as him, and would make it good. That for the preſent there was nothing more to be ſaid, but that I muſt go away for England. That if I returned he would know more; and I doubted by what he ſaid, that he would gueſs more if I returned not.

Monſieur de Witt ſmiled, and ſaid, I was in the right, that, in the mean time, he would try to cure himſelf and others of all ſuſpicions upon my journey: and would hope, on the other ſide, it might be of uſe to the common intereſts, by poſſeſſing his majeſty of the great importance of the late ſeizure of Lorrain; and of the States reſolutions to ſtick cloſe to him in all meaſures he ſhould take upon it. And ſo we parted.

I would have gone away immediately upon this ſummons, but that it found me very ill, and uncertain whether it would end in a fever, as it ſeemed to begin; but, ſince a great ſwelling fallen upon my face, I hope it may paſs. However, being forced to delay my journey ſome few days, I could not but give your lordſhip this account before-hand, and leave it to you to make what uſe of it you think fit, without expecting any anſwer, ſince I hope ſo ſoon to follow it.

But I know your lordſhip fully perſuaded of our intereſt to preſerve our alliances here, and the preſent meaſures of Chriſtendom which depend upon them. And though you have ſaid nothing yet to make me diſtruſt our counſels in the matter; yet I confeſs I have not the better opinion of it from what I find of your lordſhip's eſtranging yourſelf of late, or being eſtranged from the conſultations of them.

I have

I have likewiſe reflected upon the kind hint your lordſhip gave me ſome time ſince, of my lord Arlington's not being the ſame to me which he had formerly been, and conſtantly ſince our firſt acquaintance: which made me, I confeſs, then doubt rather ſome miſtake in your lordſhip's obſervation, than any change in his friendſhip or diſpoſitions. From himſelf, I muſt needs ſay, I yet find nothing of it; and though his ſtyle ſeems a little changed in what concerns our public affairs, yet not at all in what is particular to me. When I come into England I ſhall ſoon know the truth of your conjecture, and tell it you, becauſe by that I ſhall judge the truth of mine: for having never ſaid or done any thing to deſerve the leaſt change in his lordſhip's friendſhip to me ſince it firſt began; I am ſure, if it happens, it can be derived from nothing elſe but a change he foreſees in thoſe meaſures at court which he has been with your lordſhip ſo deeply engaged in; and which he knows as well as your lordſhip that I will never have any part in the counſels of altering, till I can be convinced that any others will be more for his majeſty's honour and ſafety.

All this I ſay in confidence to your lordſhip without touching any word of it to my lord Arlington, or any other perſon: and ſhall increaſe this trouble no farther, becauſe I hope to have ſo ſoon the honour of ſeeing you, and aſſuring you a nearer way, with how much paſſion as well as truth I am and ſhall be ever, my lord, your lordſhip's, *&c.*

*To the Great Duke of Tuſcany.*

London, Nov. 4,
SIR, N. S. 1670.

I Should not have ſatisfied myſelf barely to reſent all the favours of your moſt ſerene

Au Grand Duc de Toſcane.

*De Lond. le 4 Nov.*
*Monſieur,* *S. N.* 1670.

*JE ne me contenterois pas de reſſentir comme je le fais & comme je le dois, toutes les bon-*

ſerene highneſs, and particularly the honour of your laſt of September the 30th, if I were any way capable of acknowledging them as I ought, either by my expreſſions or my ſervices. But your highneſs being pleaſed to oblige ſo many ways ſo unprofitable a perſon, can hope for no other returns than the pleaſure of your own generoſity, and the devotion of a heart ſo grateful as mine.

I ſhould have extremely regretted the length of time your letter was in paſſing before it found me at London, after having miſſed me at the Hague; were it not that your highneſs is to conſider me here as one of the commoneſt among the king's ſubjects, and not as a miniſter who has any part in public affairs. And therefore you can expect nothing in my letters, but the tedious compliments of an idle man, inſtead of ſuch informations and ſervices as your highneſs might expect to receive from thoſe who are devoted, like me, to your ſervice. But the marquis of Puzzi is too well received at the king my maſter's court, and too well informed not to have given your highneſs all intelligence neceſſary, as well of his majeſty's friendſhip and eſteem, as

*tez de V. A. Sme, & particulierement l'honneur qu'elle m'a fait par ſa derniere lettre du 30 de Septembre, ſi je me trouvois le moins du monde capable de les reconnoitre comme elles le méritent, ou par mes expreſſions, ou par mes ſervices. Mais V. A. ayant voulu par tant de manieres differentes obliger un ſujet auſſi inutile que je le ſuis, n'a pas dû en eſpérer d'autres fruits que le plaiſir de jouïr de ſa propre generoſité, & de s'attacher un cœur auſſi reconnoiſſant que le mien.*

*Je me ſerois fort plaint des longueurs à travers leſquelles la lettre de V. A. eſt enfin venue me trouver à Londres, après m'avoir manqué à la Haye; ſi deſormais je devois être regardé de V. A. autrement que comme un homme privé, & un des ſujets les plus ordinaires de ſa majeſté, qui n'eſt plus ni miniſtre public, ni admis dans les affaires. Par conſequent mes lettres ne peuvent contenir, que les complimens d'un homme oiſif, au lieu des relations & des inſtructions que V. A. attend de ceux qui ſont auſſi attachez à elle qu'elle ſait que je le ſuis. Mais monſieur le marq. de Puzzi eſt trop bien à la cour du roy mon maître, & d'ailleurs trop éclairé, & trop exact, pour n'avoir pû informer V. A. de tout ce qu'elle doit ſavoir par rapport à nôtre cour; ſur tout, il n'aura pas negligé, je m'aſſure, de luy par-*

as of the general devotion his ſubjects bear for the perſon of your highneſs. He muſt alſo have informed your highneſs, of the happy diſpoſition his majeſty has found in his parliament, for the increaſe of his revenues, and by that means for the eſtabliſhment of his intereſts both within and without his kingdoms. I am ſorry the ſaid marquis has found nothing here to pleaſe or keep him longer among us. But I hope your highneſs will not think that during my ſtay here, there can want a perſon, as ready to receive and obey all your commands, as any of your own ſubjects, ſince I am ſo much, Sir, your highneſs's, *&c.*

*parler de l'amitié & de l'eſtime de ſa majeſté pour la perſonne de V. A. en cela ſecondée par l'affection générale de tous ſes ſujets. Il vous aura auſſi entretenu des heureuſes diſpoſitions que ſa majeſté vient de trouver dans l'aſſemblée de ſon parlement, pour l'augmentation de ſes finances, & pour la ſureté de ſes interêts tant au dedans qu'au dehors de ſes états. Je ſuis bien marri que monſieur le marquis n'ait pas trouvé icy aſſez de charmes pour s'y plaire, & s'y ſejourner un peu plus long tems. Mais j'oſe eſperer que V. A. ne croira pas manquer dans Londres d'une perſonne entierement devouée à ſon ſervice, & auſſi empreſſée à recevoir ſes ordres, qu'aucun de ſes propres ſujets, tandis que j'y feray mon ſejour, puiſque je ſuis, monſieur, de V. A. Sme,* &c.

## *To Sir John Temple.*

SIR, London, Novem. 22, N. S. 1670.

I Muſt make you my humble acknowledgments for ſo great a preſent, as you have been pleaſed to ſend me towards that expence I have reſolved to make at Sheen: and aſſure you, no part of it ſhall either go any other way, or leſſen what I had intended of my own. I doubt not to compaſs what I told you of my lord Liſle, for enlarging my ſmall territories there; when that is done, I propoſe to beſtow a thouſand pounds upon the conveniencies of the houſe and garden, and hope that will reach all I care for: ſo that your five hundred pounds may be laid out rather for ornament than uſe, as you ſeem to deſire, by order-

ing me to make the front perfectly uniform. Your care of that and me, in this matter, is the more obliging, the less I find you concur with me in my thoughts of retiring wholly from public affairs, and, to that purpose, of making my nest at this time as pleasant and commodious as I can afford it. Nor shall I easily resolve to offer at any of those advantages you think I might make upon such a retreat, of the king's favour or good opinion, by pretending either to pension or any other employment. The honour and pay of such posts as I have been in, ought to be esteemed sufficient for the best services of them: and if I have credit left with the present ministers to get what is owing me upon my embassy, I shall think myself enough rewarded; considering how different a value is now like to be put upon my services in Holland, from what there was when they were performed. 'Tis very likely at that time, as you believe, there were few reasonable things the king would have denied me, while the triple alliance and our league with Holland had so great a vogue: and my friends were not wanting in their advices to me to make use of it. But I have resolved never to ask him any thing, otherwise than by serving him well: and you will have the less reason perhaps to reproach me this method, if you will please to remember how the two embassies of Aix la Chapelle and Holland were not only thrown upon me without my seeking; but also what my lord Arlington told me was designed for me upon secretary Morris's removal, in case the king had not thought my embassy into Holland of the greatest necessity in pursuance of those measures we had taken with that State.

For what you think of the interest we have still to pursue them, and consequently of the use the king will still have of me upon that occasion; I will not enter into any reasonings with you upon that matter at this distance; but will only tell you some passages of fact

fact upon which I ground the judgment I make of affairs wherein I have no part; and which I am not ſo ſolicitous to draw into the light, as I doubt others are to keep them in the dark. And when I have told you theſe, I ſhall leave you to judge whether I take my meaſures right as to my own private conduct.

You know firſt the part I had in all our alliances with Holland; how far my own perſonal credit was engaged upon them to monſieur de Witt; and the reſolutions I not only acquainted him and you with, but his majeſty too; that I would never have any part in breaking them, whatever ſhould happen: though that I confeſs could hardly enter into any body's head that underſtood the intereſts of Chriſtendom as well as our own. I have given you ſome intimations how cold I have obſerved our temper at court in thoſe matters for this laſt year; and how different it was thought abroad from that warmth with which we engaged in them: ſo that it was a common ſaying at the Hague, *qu'il faut avouer, qu'il y a eu neuf mois du plus grand miniſtere du monde en Angleterre:* for they would hardly allow a longer term to the vigour of that counſel which made the triple alliance, and the peace at Aix, and ſent me over into Holland this laſt embaſſy to purſue the great ends of them, and draw the emperor and princes of the empire into the common guaranty of the peace. Inſtead of this, our pretenſions upon the buſineſs of Surinam, and the Eaſt-India companies have grown high, and been managed with ſharpneſs between us and the States; and grounded (as monſieur de Witt conceives) more upon a deſign of ſhewing them our ill humour, than our reaſon. I was ſenſible that my conduct in all theſe matters had fallen ſhort for many months paſt of the approbation at court it uſed to receive; and that Mr. Worden was ſent over to me only to diſparage it, or eſpy the faults of it; though I think he returned with the opinion that the buſineſs would not

not bear it. 'Tis true, both my lord Arlington and Sir John Trevor continued to the laſt of my ſtay in Holland to aſſure me, that the king ſtill remained firm in his meaſures with the States: but yet I found the buſineſs of admitting the emperor into the guaranty went downright lame: and that my lord keeper was in a manner out of the foreign counſels; for ſo he writ to me himſelf, and gave me notice at the ſame time, that my lord Arlington was not at all the ſame to me that he had been: which I took for an ill ſign in our public buſineſs and an ill circumſtance in my own; and the more, becauſe I was ſure not to have deſerved it; and found nothing of it in his own letters, but only that they came ſeldom, and run more upon indifferent things than they uſed to do.

Ever ſince Madame's journey into England, the Dutch had grown jealous of ſomething between us and France; and were not like to be cured by theſe particulars I have mentioned: but upon the invaſion and ſeizure of Lorrain by France, and my being ſent for over ſo ſuddenly after it, monſieur de Witt himſelf could keep his countenance no longer; though he be neither ſuſpicious in his nature, nor thought it the beſt courſe to diſcover any ſuch diſpoſition upon this occaſion, how much ſoever he had of it: but yet he told me at my coming away, that he ſhould make a judgment of us by the ſuddenneſs of my return, which the king had ordered me to aſſure him of.

When I came to town, I went immediately to my lord Arlington according to cuſtom. And whereas upon my ſeveral journeys over in the late conjunctures, he had ever quitted all company to receive me, and did it always with open arms, and in the kindeſt manner that could be; he made me this laſt time ſtay an hour and half in an outward room before he came to me, while he was in private with my lord Aſhly. He received me with a coldneſs that I confeſs ſurprized me;

me; and after a quarter of an hour's talk of my journey and his friends at the Hague, inſtead of telling me the occaſion of my being ſent for over, or any thing elſe material, he called in *Tatâ* that was in the next room, and after that my lord Crofts, who came upon a common viſit; and in that company the reſt of mine paſſed, till I found he had nothing more to ſay to me, and ſo went away.

The next morning I went however to him again, deſiring to be brought by him to kiſs the king's hand, as I uſed upon my former journeys. He thought fit to bring me to his majeſty as he was walking in the Mall; who ſtopped to give me his hand, and aſked me half a dozen queſtions about my journey, and about the prince of Orange, and ſo walked on. Since which time, neither the King nor my lord Arlington have ever ſaid three words to me about any thing of buſineſs; tho' I have been as often in their way as agreed with ſuch an ill courtier as I am, or a man without buſineſs as I found myſelf to be.

I have ſeen my lord keeper and Mr. ſecretary Trevor: and find the firſt uneaſy and apprehenſive of our preſent counſels; the laſt ſufficient and confident that no endeavours can break the meaſures between us and Holland, becauſe they are eſteemed ſo neceſſary abroad and ſo rational at home: yet I find them both but barely in the ſkirts of buſineſs; and only in right of their poſts: and that in the ſecret of it, the duke of Buckingham, my lord Arlington, my lord Aſhly, and Sir Thomas Clifford, at preſent compoſe the miniſtry. This I tell you in ſhort as the conſtitution of our affairs here at this time, and which I believe you may reckon upon.

You know how different Sir Thomas Clifford and I have always been, ſince our firſt acquaintance, in our ſchemes of government, and many other matters, eſpecially concerning our alliance with Holland: and

that

that has been the reaſon, I ſuppoſe, of very little commerce between us farther than common civility, in our frequent encounters at my lord Arlington's for ſeveral years paſt: this made me a little ſurprized at his receiving me upon my firſt coming over, and treating me ſince, with a moſt wonderful graciouſneſs, till the other day, which I ſuppoſe has ended that ſtyle. Upon the firſt viſit he made me, after many civilities, he told me, he muſt needs have two hours talk with me, at ſome time of leiſure and in private, upon our affairs in Holland: and ſtill repeated this almoſt every time he ſaw me, till one day laſt week, when we appointed the hour and met in his cloſet. He began with great compliments to me about my ſervices to the king in my employments abroad; went on with the neceſſity of preſerving our meaſures with Holland, and the mutual intereſt both nations had in it; and concluded with wondering why the States ſhould have ſhewed ſo much difficulty upon thoſe two affairs of Surinam and the Eaſt-India company, wherein our demands ſeemed ſo reaſonable; and how it came about that I had failed in compaſſing his majeſty's ſatisfaction in thoſe two matters, after having ſucceeded ſo much in all my other negotiations. I thought he might not have underſtood the detail of thoſe two affairs; and ſo deduced it to him, with the Dutch reaſons, which I confeſs ſeemed to me in many points but too well grounded. He ſeemed unſatisfied with them all, and told me I muſt undertake that matter again, and bring it to a period; and aſked me whether I did not think I could bring them to reaſon: I ſaid plainly I believed I never could, to what we called ſo, and therefore was very unwilling to undertake it: that I had ſpent all my ſhot in vain: and therefore thought their beſt way would be to employ ſome perſon in it that had more wit or ability than I. Upon this he grew a little moved; and replied, that for my wit and

and ability they all knew I had enough; and all the queſtion was, whether I was willing to employ them upon this occaſion which ſo much concerned the king's ſervice, and the honour of the nation. Hereupon I told him, how I had uſed my utmoſt endeavours in it already, how many repreſentations I had made the States, how many conferences I had had with their commiſſioners, how long and particular accounts I had given them hitherto, and how I had valued all the reaſons tranſmitted me from hence, and how all to no purpoſe: and being, I confeſs, a little heated after ſo long and unpleaſant a converſation (as well as he) I aſked him in the name of God what he thought a man could do more? Upon this in a great rage he anſwered me, yes; he would tell me what a man might do more, and what I ought to do more; which was to let the king and all the world know how baſely and unworthily the States had uſed him; and to declare publicly how their miniſters were a company of rogues and raſcals, and not fit for his majeſty or any other prince to have any thing to do with: and this was a part that no body could do ſo well as I. My anſwer was very calm, that I was not a man fit to make declarations: that whenever I did upon any occaſion, I ſhould ſpeak of all men what I thought of them; and ſo I ſhould do of the States, and the miniſters I had dealt with there, which was all I could ſay of this buſineſs. And ſo our converſation ended.

Upon all theſe paſſages, and ſome others not fit for a letter, I have fixed my judgment of the affairs and counſels at preſent in deſign or deliberation here. I apprehend weather coming, that I ſhall have no mind to be abroad in; and therefore reſolved to get a warm houſe over my head as ſoon as I could: and neither apprehend any uneaſineſs of mind or fortune in the private life I propoſe to myſelf; unleſs ſome public revolutions ſhould draw both upon me, which cannot touch me alone, and muſt be born like a common calamity. I can-

I cannot find them willing yet to end my embaſſy in form, or give me leave to ſend over for my wife, and family; which I eaſily apprehend the reaſon of, and muſt go through as well as I can; though my expence at the Hague be great, and my hopes little here of getting my pay, as I find affairs go and diſpoſitions too in the treaſury, where all is diſpoſed in a manner by Sir Thomas Clifford. In the mean time I have ſent over for my Spaniſh horſe, and intend to ſend a groom away with him to Dublin, in hopes you will be pleaſed with him. I can be ſo with nothing more than the occaſions of expreſſing always that duty wherewith I am, Sir, your, *&c.*

*To Monſieur de Witt.*

Sheen, July 25,
SIR, 1671.

BY yours of the 14th inſtant, I received the marks you were pleaſed to give me of your friendſhip and memory, which I value as I ought, and as coming from a perſon who has already acquired the eſteem of all the world, and by that the right of doing much honour to others to whom he gives any teſtimony of his own. I can pretend to no other part in it, than what your goodneſs gives me, and am afraid that this may do injury to your judgment. But knowing that your opinion of me is ſolely founded upon your knowledge of my good intentions, I ſhall defend myſelf no longer; becauſe in this age there is ſo little honour in being a good man, that none are

Au Monſieur de Witt.

*De Sheen, le* 25
*Monſieur,* *Juil.* 1671.

*J'AY reçu dans vôtre lettre du* 14, *de ce mois les marques que vous avez bien voulu me donner de vôtre ſouvenir, & de vôtre amitié: je les eſtime ce qu'elles valent, & comme venant d'une perſonne qui s'eſt deja acquis l'eſtime de tout le monde, & par-là le droit de faire beaucoup d'honneur en donnant des marques de la ſienne. Je n'y ſçaurois pretendre d'autre part que celle que vôtre generoſité m'y donne, & je crains même que cela ne faſſe quelque tort à vôtre jugement. Mais ſachant que la bonne opinion que vous temoignez avoir de moy, n'eſt fondée que ſur la connoiſſance de mes bonnes intentions, je ne veux plus me defendre; car, au reſte, dans un ſiécle comme le nôtre, il y a trop peu de gloire à être homme*

are ſuſpected to employ their vanity about it, any more than their purſuits. I ſhould quit my reſidence at the Hague with much regret, if I were of your opinion in what regards me; for I think I ſhould be wholly uſeleſs there, and find I am better turned for making a good gardener than an able miniſter. However, I ſhall ever bear much reſpect and eſteem to thoſe who are well qualified for the latter; and therefore cannot fail of both for your perſon in particular, any more than of my acknowledgments for your civilities to me at the Hague, whereof I ſhall ever preſerve the remembrance, as well as the paſſion wherewith I am, Sir, your, *&c.*

*homme de bien, pour s'attirer le ſoupçon d'avoir tourné ſes veues à ce côte-là, & borné ſa vanité à ſi peu de choſe. Je quitterois avec beaucoup de regret le ſejour de la Haye ſi j'avois de moy même l'opinion que vous voulez que j'en aye; mon ſentiment eſt que j'y ſerois tout-à fait inutile; & je me ſens beaucoup plus propre à pratiquer l'art d'un bon Jardinier, que celuy d'habile miniſtre. J'auray pourtant toujours l'eſtime & le reſpect qui ſont dûs à eux qui ſavent bien ce dernier, & par-là je croy dire aſſez clairement, que je n'en manqueray jamais pour vôtre perſonne en particulier. Je ſay de plus quelle reconnoiſſance je dois à toutes les civilitez que j'ay réceues de vous pendant mon ſejour à la Haye; & mon cœur en conſervera éternellement le ſouvenir, ainſi que la paſſion avec laquelle je ſuis, monſieur, vôtre, &c.*

## *To Sir John Temple.*

SIR, London, Sept. 14, 1671.

I AM ſure you will be pleaſed with knowing that my wife and family are ſafe arrived from Holland, after a paſſage that might very well have met with other dangers beſides thoſe of wind and weather. I could not obtain leave to ſend for them till July tho' I had for ſome months ſolicited both that and the ending of my embaſſy: but then his majeſty was pleaſed to grant me both that liberty, and alſo of writing to the States and to monſieur de Witt, to take my leave of them, and end my embaſſy as upon my

own desire, and my own private occasions; which were indeed enough to engage me in that pursuit, considering the charge of maintaining an ambassador's family at the Hague while my payments from the Exchequer went so heavy and so lame.

'Tis true, I had other reasons long about me, which I kept to myself: for soon after my coming over, my wife writ me word, that monsieur Gioe, the Danish envoy there, had told her in confidence, and out of kindness to me, that monsieur Pompone, the French ambassador at the Hague, had acquainted him, that new measures were taken between our court and that of France; among which one was, that I should be recalled and return no more.

At the same time monsieur de Witt had, upon the delays of my return, told my secretary Mr. Blaithwait, that he should take my stay or coming back for certain signs of what the king's intentions were towards the preserving or changing the measures he had taken with the States; and had desired him to let the court know what he said. This, I suppose, made them unwilling to make a declaration, by my recalling, of what they intended upon this occasion, before all things necessary were more fully agreed, or better concerted. Therefore they continued not only my family there for so many months, and the talk of my return, but entertained the Dutch ministers here with such language as gained in them an opinion of our measures still continued firm upon the same bottom; and with such a credulity as was enough to make one doubt whether they were willing to deceive their masters, or to be deceived themselves.

In July the Dutch fleet was floating in the channel; to shew, I suppose, that they were in condition to meet any of those dangers they began to suspect from the motions of France, and from our late conduct. When the captain of the yatcht that was ordered to convey my

my wife over, took his leave at court, he had public orders given him, if he came in ſight of the Dutch fleet, he ſhould ſail through them, and ſhoot at thoſe ſhips which were next him, till he made them ſtrike ſail, or till they ſhot at him again, and then purſue his courſe. He paſſed, it ſeems, into Holland without ſeeing them; but as he returned he met the fleet, and ſailing through them, made ſeveral ſhot at thoſe near him: upon which they ſeemed at leaſt not to know what he meant, and to believe he might be in ſome diſtreſs, and the Admiral ſent a boat aboard him to enquire. The captain told them, that he had been ſent to bring back the Engliſh ambaſſadreſs with her family from Holland; and had orders to make the Dutch fleet ſtrike wherever he met them in the Channel. Upon this meſſage by the boat, Vice-Admiral Van Ghent came aboard the yacht, upon a compliment to my wife, which he performed very handſomely, and afterwards deſired to ſpeak with the captain, of whom he enquired the reaſon of his ſhooting; and receiving the ſame anſwer which had been given to the firſt boat, he ſaid it was a point they had received no order in from their maſters, and did not know how that affair was agreed between his majeſty and the States. But though it were ſettled, yet the captain could not pretend the fleet and Admiral ſhould ſtrike to a yacht, which was but a pleaſure-boat, or at leaſt ſerved only for paſſage, and could not paſs for one of the king's men of war. The captain ſaid he had his orders, and was bound to follow them. After Van Ghent was gone, the captain perplexed enough came to my wife, and deſired to know what ſhe pleaſed he ſhould do in the caſe; which ſhe ſaw he did not like very well, and would be glad to get out of by her help. She told him, he knew his orders beſt, and what he was to do upon them; which ſhe left to him to follow as he thought fit, without any regard to her or her children. He purſued his courſe,

and landed her safe; after which she went to court, and was very well received, and much commended for her part in what had passed: and at night Sir Lionel Jenkins was sent to take her examination in form upon the whole matter of fact. When I went next to the king's levee, he began to speak of my wife's carriage at sea, and to commend it as much as he blamed the captain's; and said, she had shewed more courage than he: and then falling upon the Dutch insolence, I said, that however matters went, it must be confessed that there was some merit in my family, since I had made the alliance with Holland, and my wife was like to have the honour of making the war. The king smiled as well as I, who had found this the only way to turn the discourse into good humour: and so it ended.

When I went into the king's closet, I desired to kiss his hand upon the end of my embassy; which he gave me very graciously, and told me he had all the reason that could be, to be satisfied with my services. And upon my desire that he would give me some help in the dispatch of my payments due from the Exchequer, since I was resolved to ask him nothing else, and had been at so great expence to maintain my family at the Hague so long without their help; he told me, he would speak to the commissioners of the treasury to do me justice; and in the mean time would give me the plate belonging to my embassy, which I had still in my possession. I gave his majesty my humble thanks; and he seemed very much pleased to see I took it kindly, and was so easily contented.

And thus an adventure has ended in smoke, which had for almost three years made so much noise in the world, restored and preserved so long the general peace, and left his majesty the arbitrage of all affairs among our neighbours, by the emperor and Spain's resolutions, as well as Sweden and Holland's, to follow his measures, for the common safety and peace of Christendom.

The

The Dutch miniſters at court, as ill noſes as they have, began to ſmell the powder after the captain's ſhooting, and knew not what countenance to ſet upon it here, and will I doubt be more to ſeek at their return. All people are full of the politics and expectations of what will be next, which you muſt expect to hear from Gazettes, and no more from me; who ſhall not ſo much as enquire, nor care to know; but retire to my corner at Sheen, and endeavour to paſs the reſt of my life as quietly and innocently as I can; and for the reſt, like a private man, run the fortune of my country.

I have been long enough in courts and public buſineſs, to know a great deal of the world and of myſelf; and to find that we are not made for one another, and that neither of us are like to alter either our natures or our cuſtoms: and that in courſe and periods of public government, as well as private life, *quiſque ſuos patimur manes.*

I am ſenſible this is too long a trouble; but being like to be the laſt of this kind, I hope you will forgive it among many others you have been content with from, Sir, your moſt obedient ſon, and moſt humble ſervant.

## *To my brother Sir John Temple.*

Dear Brother, Sheen, May 23, 1672.

THO' I have not much troubled my friends or myſelf with letters, ſince I left off all public buſineſs; yet our company here being otherwiſe engaged at this time, I could not defer the telling you by this poſt, that my brother Harry is ſafe arrived from France, and talks of beginning another journey towards you in a little time. I doubt he had not come over ſo ſoon, but from the apprehenſion of more danger at ſea upon the Dutch war breaking out, which you will at length believe my preſages of had ſome reaſon, as I will allow you had none to think them true at that diſtance; ſince neither the French nor the Dutch would

believe we were in earneſt, till we fell upon the Smyrna fleet. My brother Harry ſays, no body till then believed it at Paris; and when I told my lord Arlington what he ſaid, he confeſſed the very French court would not believe it till that blow was ſtruck: and how well ſoever our meaſures with them were taken, yet they reſolved we ſhould begin the war; which was an honour we might perhaps have ſpared, conſidering who was like to have the profit of it.

For the Dutch, though they were alarmed at Sir George Downing's being ſent over upon the ending of my embaſſy, yet they thought it was deſigned only to fright them into ſome great payments, as he had endeavoured to do before the firſt war began; ſo that they were ſtill in hopes, that if our common intereſt and treaties ſhould not hold us, yet they might at leaſt buy our friendſhip. Therefore the States treated Sir George Downing with all reſpect and civility; though the common people were hardly kept in order upon their old hatred to him, which was well known here before he went. For when the king named him for that employment, one of the council ſaid, The rabble will tear him in pieces; upon which the king ſmiled, and ſaid, Well, I will venture him. But Sir George was ſo wiſe as not to venture himſelf too far; which made him come away in a fright without orders or leave: and that was all the occaſion of his being ſent to the Tower upon his arrival, which diſappointed ſome ends deſigned by his journey. I think indeed none got much by it but I; who had the good fortune to put off my houſe at the Hague with a great deal of my furniture to him at his going over. This advantage indeed was but ſmall, in compariſon of what I have loſt upon this occaſion by the ſtop of the Exchequer, which has ſunk all the money I had in Alderman Backwell's hands, and I doubt, without recovery. This counſel was carried ſo ſecret, that I do not hear of any man at court that had

had warning enough to call in his money out of any of the bankers hands: till Sir Thomas Clifford proposed the thing at council without other circumstance, than saying, that it was necessary, the king must have money upon the war with Holland; that he knew no other way but this; and desired none would speak against it, without proposing some better and easier way. Upon this, nothing more was said, and the thing passed; and being immediately public, it was too late for any man to call in his money; which made the loss and complaint very general, as well as particular to me. Yet I pray God this may prove the worst consequence of the present war, and the counsels that have engaged us in it. I doubt you will find very ill ones in Ireland by the loss of all your foreign trade, that will soon follow.

But my public thoughts are ended, and so I leave them to those who are engaged in them. If my father and you are well, as your friends are all here, it is enough: and I am ever your most affectionate brother.

*To Monsieur Wickfort.*

Lond. Oct. 10.
SIR, N. S. 1672.

IF, by the course of public affairs it were permitted me to cultivate any correspondence in the country where you are, it should, without doubt, have been yours, which hath ever been equally profitable and agreeable to me: but we must comply with the times and motions of our governments, how contrary soever they may be to our own inclinations. However, since public edicts do not forbid any commerce that is only used for withdrawing effects in either

Au Monsieur Wickfort.

*De Lond. le* 10 *Oct.*
*Monsieur*, *S. N.* 1672.

*SI les conjonctures & les situations des affaires publiques m'avoient permis d'entretenir quelque correspondence au païs où vous êtes, c'eût été sans doute une amitié comme la vôtre que j'eusse eu soin de cultiver; car elle m'a toujours paru également utile & agréable. Il faut s'accommoder au tems, & ceder aux mouvemens qui entraînent les états, quelques opposez qu'ils soient à nos desirs & à nos volontez. Mais comme les declarations des princes ne deffendent pas cette sorte de commerce qui*

ther country, I am by that means allowed to acquit myself of the acknowledgments I owe you, for dispatching my affairs with monsieur Scague, and to desire you will continue to me your good offices, if I shall need them, towards finishing the rest of my accounts with my merchants at Amsterdam.

In the mean time, I thank you for the favour of your last, which has given me a very agreeable surprize: 'tis a great pleasure to hear, that any memory is left of a person buried in the privacy of a country life, and the idle amusements of leisure. For, since his majesty has thought fit to change the course of his counsels, in the pursuit whereof I was so long and so sincerely engaged, as ever believing them equally necessary to the repose of Christendom, and to the good of both our nations; I have had no share at all in public affairs; but, on the contrary, I am wholly sunk in my gardening, and the quiet of a private life; which, I thank God, agrees with me as well as the splendor of the world, and gives me a great deal more quiet and satisfaction than I should have found by pursuing my fortunes in it, if I had the inclinations as often as I have had the occasions to do so. I will not tell you, that I have suc-

*n'a pour but que de retirer les effets, & de souder ses comptes de part & d'autre, il m'est permis de m'acquitter de ce que je vous dois pour m'avoir tiré d'affaire avec monsieur Scague, & de vous supplier de me continuer vos bons offices, en cas qu'ils me soient encore necessaires pour finir le reste de mes comptes avec mon marchand d'Amsterdam.*

*Je vous remercie en même tems de la grace que vous m'avez faite par vôtre derniere lettre, qui me fût rendue il y a quelque tems, & qui me causa une agréable surprise; je voy avec plaisir qu'on se souvient encore d'une personne ensevelie dans un sejour champêtre, & qui dans sa retraite ne paroît plus sensible qu'aux douceurs d'une vie oisive. Car depuis que sa majesté a trouvé bon de changer la face de son conseil, auquel j'ay été si longtems & si sincerement devoué, persuadé que les vœux de ce conseil étoient également utiles & au bien de nos deux nations, & au répos de la Chrêtienté; dequis ce tems-là, dis je, je n'ay pris aucune part aux affaires publiques, & n'ay songé au contraire qu'à m'enfoncer dans le jardinage, & à gouter la douceur d'une vie privée; qui, graces à Dieu, me sied aussi bien, que le faste des emplois, & tout l'éclat du grand monde, & me fait jouir d'un repos plus parfait que m'en auroit pû procurer la plus grande élevation, si avec d'autres*

*desirs*

ſucceeded ſo well in my ſmall country deſigns, as I have ſometimes done in great ones: but, if ever any favourable accident (and this age produces ſtrange ones enough) ſhould bring you hither; I would let you ſee that our buildings are not altogether without neatneſs: at leaſt, I would make you confeſs, that the fruits of my garden have another taſte than thoſe of my * cloſet, and will preſerve better than thoſe of my embaſſies. In the mean time, I muſt give place to our ladies here, who will not be ſatisfied without aſſuring you of their ſervices, and of the remembrance they will always keep of the civilities they have received from you and your family. I am, Sir, your moſt humble and moſt affectionate ſervant.

* Obſervations on the Netherlands, which M. Wickfort afterwards tranſlated.

*deſirs que ceux que j'ay, j'avois menagé toutes les occaſions qui m'ont été offertes pour arriver à une grande fortune. Je ne vous diray pas que j'ay auſſi bien réüſſi dans mes petits projets champêtres, que j'ay autrefois rëuſſi dans des deſſeins plus élevez: mais ſi jamais quelque conjoncture impreveue (car ce ſiécle en fait naitre des plus bizares) m'étoit aſſes favorable pour vous conduire dans nôtre Iſle, je vous ferois voir que nos bâtimens ne ſont pas tout à fait ſans agrément; ou du moins je vous ferois avouer, que les fruits de mon jardin ont bien un autre goût que ceux de mon cabinet, & ont la proprieté de ſe conſerver mieux que ceux de mes ambaſſades. Je n'oſerois employer ce qui me reſte de papier; & il faut que je ſonge à y laiſſer du vuide pour nos dames, qui ne me le pardonneroient pas ſi elles n'y trouvoient place pour vous aſſûrer de leurs ſervices, & du ſouvenir qu'elles conſerveront toujours de toutes les bontés qu'elles ont reçeues tant de vous que de vôtre famille. Je ſuis, monſieur, vôtre très humble & très affectionné ſerviteur,*

W. TEMPLE.

*The end of Sir W. Temple's letters.*

# LETTERS

## TO

## Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE.

### *From Mr. Secretary Trevor.*

SIR, London, Oct. 8, 1668. N. S.

I Have received your congratulation as an effect of your friendſhip as well as your civility. I am willing to flatter myſelf with it, as a thing very agreeable to my ambition, and the deſires I have always had to deſerve it. If it were not to aſſume ſomething of vanity, I would make you the offer of all the ſervices which my preſent or future fortunes ſhall make me capable to pay you; and if I could make them as valuable as they are ſincere, I durſt recommend them to be worthy your acceptance. Sir, I know your worth and merit gave me many competitors to your friendſhip; but in this divided world I claim ſome affinity to your principles, which gives ſome ſingularity to my pretence.

It is hardly yet in my province to enter into buſineſs with you; but I will take the liberty to tell you, that I am very glad you think it neceſſary, and have made ſome progreſs in ſome new expedient for paying the Swediſh ſubſidies, and confirming that union which muſt preſerve the peace of Europe. My lord Keeper and lord Privy ſeal do a little fear the conſequence of an univerſal guaranty upon the peace of the Pyrenees; leſt in the

the extent of it, it ſhould be conſtrued to engage the king to greater charge and undertakings than will conſiſt with the ſtate of his affairs. They are of opinion, that it were better to pay theſe ſubſidies in three parts, whereof Spain will readily pay his third, and you know how England can pay theirs, if Holland will accept their part; and then to proceed freely to comprehend Spain in the alliance upon ſuch terms of advantage as are obvious in reſpect to England. My lord Arlington's thoughts upon this ſubject are not yet known to me: he is with the king, and I have given him an account of theſe diſcourſes, and in a few days I believe you will hear from him. In the mean time I take the liberty to give you this advance of our meditations here; whereof you will make what uſe you ſhall think reaſonable to thoſe ends we aim at.

Sir, I am with great eſteem and ſincerity your moſt faithful and humble ſervant. J. TREVOR.

## *From the earl of Northumberland.*

SIR, Petworth, Nov. 16, 1668.

I Should be very much to blame if I did not make a more than ordinary acknowledgment for the laſt letter I received from you; wherein I find more marks of true friendſhip than are uſually met with in this age; where truth is ſeldom ſpoken, and flattery is the only civility. I do very fully agree with you, that none of the actions of my life can be of more importance to me than thoſe at my firſt ſetting out, whereby I may give the world a good or bad impreſſion of me; and which ſoever of the two is at firſt taken up, will hardly ever be altered. If I fail in this, I cannot but confeſs myſelf extreme faulty, having lived ſo many years under the examples and precepts of one who made it his whole buſineſs to inform me of the difference between good and evil, and who was ſo well able to do it: ſo as beſides the

the relation, I can truly ſay, that I have loſt the beſt friend I had; and I hope to be believed when I ſay that I thought ſo.

I will entertain you no longer on this ſubject; but I have entertained myſelf very well with reading your letter often: and I aſſure you that you cannot beſtow your friendſhip on any body that doth more eſteem it, and will more gladly embrace it than your moſt affectionate and faithful ſervant NORTHUMBERLAND.

## *From the baron de l'Iſola.*

*Bruſſels, Dec.* 13, 1668.

My Lord,

IF I were not well aſſured of your goodneſs, and that you know the bottom of my heart enough to be perſuaded, that time and abſence can change nothing of the perfect friendſhip I have vowed for your excellency; I might apprehend my long ſilence had raiſed in you an ill opinion of it: but I will confeſs to you freely, that while I ſaw things take a quite contrary courſe to what I wiſhed, I had not the heart to entertain a correſpondence wherein I could furniſh nothing but words in the air, uncertain hopes, and projects without foundation. But now, when things ſeem to proceed by maxims more agreeable to the circumſtances of the preſent time, I return to my ancient obligations, and begin to awake out of the profound ſleep, wherein the languiſhing

*Monſieur,*

*SI je ne connoiſſois bien vôtre bonté & que vous ſavez aſsez le fond de mon cœur pour être perſuadé que le temps & l'abſence ne peuvent rien alterer de la parfaite amitié que j'ay voüé à V. E. j'apprehendois que mon long ſilence ne luy en eut fait concevoir quelque mauvaiſe opinion: mais je luy avoüeray franchement que tant que j'ay veu les choſes prendre un cours tout contraire à celuy que je ſouhaitois; je n'ay pas eu le cœur d'entretenir une correſpondence dans laquelle je n'aurois pu fournir que des paroles en l'air, des éſperances incertaines, & des projets ſans fondements. A preſent qu'elles ſemblent s'acheminer par des maximes plus convenables aux circonſtances du tems preſent, je reviens à mes anciennes obligations, & commence à me réveiller comme du profond ſommeil où la langueur de nos operations*

ing of our affairs had plunged me; and my firſt care is to renew to your excellency my ancient ſervices, and to teſtify my extreme joy for the hope I have of the honour very ſoon to embrace you, and pour into your boſom my moſt ſecret thoughts. But ſhall we not have alſo the company of your illuſtrious lady, my lady Temple? My wife, who will needs bear me company, will never be comforted, if ſhe miſſes the occaſion of ſeeing ſo dear a friend: and I confeſs to you, it would be a ſenſible mortification if we ſhould not find her with you. In the mean time, I humbly deſire your excellency to believe that I am abſolutely yours, and that I have taken part as I ought, in the glory you have acquired in the world by your great and happy negotiations, wiſhing you, from the bottom of my heart, all the advantages you ought juſtly to expect from ſo generous a maſter. Theſe are the moſt ardent wiſhes of, my lord, your excellency's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant.

*rations m'avoit plongé; & mon premier ſoin eſt de renouveller à V. E. mes anciens ſervices; & luy temoigner l'extreme joye que j'ay de l'eſpoir d'avoir bientôt l'honneur de l'embraſſer, & verſer dans ſon ſein mes plus ſecrettes penſées. Mais n'y trouverons-nous point vôtre illuſtre Madame Temple? Ma femme, qui vient abſolument m'accompagner, ne ſe conſolera jamais ſi elle perd cette occaſion de voir une ſi precieuſe amie: & je vous avoue que ce nous ſeroit une ſenſible mortification, ſi nous ne la rencontrions pas auprès de vous. Cependant je prie très humblement V. E. de croire que je ſuis abſolument à elle, & que j'ay pris toute la part que je devois, à la gloire qu'elle s'eſt acquiſe dans le monde par ſes belles & heureuſes negotiations; luy ſouhaitant du fond du cœur tous les avantages que vous devez juſtement attendre d'un ſi genereux Maître. Ce ſont les vœux très ardents que fait ſans ceſſe, monſieur, de vôtre excellence le très humble & très obéiſſant ſerviteur,*

DE L'ISOLA.

## *From my lord Arlington.*

My Lord, London, Jan. 19, 1668-9.

I Have two of yours to acknowledge of the 15th and 22d, I ſhould have ſaid three; for of the former date I had two, one relating to the public affair, the other to you and me; to which I will make anſwer at the bottom of this.

I am glad to see that at your first entrance with monsieur le baron d'Isola, you had worried him out of the vision he carried thither, to persuade the State and you to a *quadruple alliance*; or, as they have christened it in Spain, an offensive and defensive league with us. The testimony the world hath justly given him of his wit, makes him think it sufficient to prevail in any subject. But your last shews him come to some reason, and that there are two hundred thousand crowns already in hand for the satisfaction of the Swede. I hope a few days will make him confess all. Before this, I assure myself you have his majesty's instructions upon this subject; and the satisfaction of seeing, that you know our mind before we told it you, which I observed to his majesty and his ministers much to your advantage.

I have also this day, in the presence of Mr. secretary Trevor, communicated to some of the East-India company the paper given you by the States, upon their affairs, with the amendments monsieur de Witt had sent to Amsterdam to make it more compleat. They seem at first view to believe it comes up to their desires in substance, but have desired it to see whether it be rightly worded, with a promise to return it to be sent you again by the next post, if by that time we can agree what form to give it.

As to what is said before concerns us both, I have little to say; I mean I am this evening too much off the hooks to reply so obligingly to you as you have spoken to me upon the probability of my devolving my correspondence with you to Sir John Trevor. I cannot but tell you what you know already, that you are under his district; and must therefore expect from him all the formal dispatches, but shall never be eased of my particular ones, till you give me cause, which I know you will never do, to love you or value you less. Besides, *Utrumque nostrum incredibili modo consentit astrum:*

and

and I am reſolved never to leave you till I have made you able to make my own fortunes; for which you have credit enough already, if you had alſo place for it: and believe me without flattery, you have enough of the former to deſerve envy, which you muſt learn betimes to live with.

I have not yet ſpoken with Mr. Williamſon concerning the correſpondence you furniſh him; he ſhall himſelf anſwer for it and his omiſſions all this while; and for myſelf, believe it, there is no man living loves and values you more, nor can be with more truth, your moſt affectionate and moſt humble ſervant ARLINGTON.

*From the lord-keeper Bridgeman.*

My Lord, Eſſex-Houſe, Jan. 28. 1668-9.

I HAD the favour of your excellency's of the 31ſt inſtant, N. S. with a copy of your letter to Mr. ſecretary Trevor, and am your debtor for a letter of a former date. I am exceeding glad to find the buſineſs of the Swediſh ſubſidies to be brought ſo near a good concluſion. Sir Mark Ognati came to me about the ſame time of the receipt of yours; and gave me the like aſſurances, as touching the concert they were now ſatisfied with it; but only for convenience-ſake propoſed the change of ſix hundred horſe into foot, as apprehending our Engliſh horſe not ſo well able to endure the hard forage in Flanders as the Flemiſh; but our foot they took to be excellent good. I find (though I would not tell him ſo) that we ſhall ſcarce agree here to ſend our foot without horſe to accompany and ſecure them. As for the time of ſending the forces, I believe (and ſo I told him) that we ſhall inſiſt to have it undetermined as to a day; and they muſt reſt upon the expreſſions, with all the ſpeed we can; which is enough, where the ſtipulation is *bonâ fide* intended to be performed; and the other is not enough, without it. Some

two days ago we received intelligence that the king of France has ſubmitted the differences touching the Condé and the other dependances upon his conqueſts, to the determination of the king of England and crown of Sweden, ſo it be done within a year. I hope we ſhall have peace abroad by this means for a year at leaſt; I wiſh it may be ſo at home; and this good news which you ſent us, gives me more encouragement to believe it will be ſo, than any I have from hence.

I have ſomewhat a ſore fit of the gout, which ſtill is in my hand, and cauſes me to make uſe of my nephew's pen.

I am with all faithfulneſs, my lord, your excellency's moſt affectionate humble ſervant

ORL. BRIDGEMAN, C. S.

## *From Mr. ſecretary Trevor.*

My Lord, Whitehall, March 7, 1668-9.

I Have now herewith ſent your excellency the ratifications for the two inſtruments you laſt ſent over. Your lordſhip will take notice that the guaranty was ratified once before in May laſt, and left in your hands: I preſume that ſince this laſt ratification is to be the ſame guaranty and the concert together, you will keep the former in your hands ſtill. I am glad the laſt fraction of 20000 rix dollars is paid alſo, and now the whole matter eſtabliſhed.

I received yours of the 11th inſtant, N. S. and the incloſed declaration to the elector of Mentz, of which I have not yet had opportunity to inform his majeſty, and to receive his commands and reſolutions. To the concept for Surinam he will return you one of our own more full; but ſuch as ſhall not differ much from what the States ſeem in theirs to intend, but more explicite, and leſs ſubject to evaſion. By the next I hope to ſend it, that this matter may not be delayed on our part. We

We have little news here. The parliament makes haſte to diſpatch before Eaſter. In the lords houſe there is ariſen a great proceſs which fills mens heads, upon the petition of my lord Roos; who having been by act of parliament laſt year divorced from his wife, and his children by her declared illegitimate, and uncapable to inherit, doth now pray for another act to enable him to marry another. On Thurſday will be the great debate, in which both the ſpiritual and temporal lords are divided much.

My lord, I was very ſorry to find your indiſpoſition by your letter; I heartily wiſh you a quick recovery, and all other advantages, which no man deſires for you more truly than, your excellency's moſt faithful humble ſervant, J. Trevor.

*From the duke of Ormond.*

My Lord, Whitehall, May 17, 1669.

THinking as you did, that your lady's return to you would be ſooner than it has proved, I reſerved the little or nothing I have to ſay to you, till her arrival with it might make the diverſion from the affair, you are full of, more ſuitable.

I have not miſſed a day at the committee where your diſpatches are conſidered, ſince you went from hence, till yeſterday, that I was kept in my chamber by an apprehenſion rather than fit of the gout; and that omiſſion was well ſupplied by a viſit I received from Mr. ſecretary Trevor, who gave me a relation of your laſt letters, and of the unequal deſires of ſome of our allies.

I have all the reaſon in the world to be very confident that if you were in a ſtation where your ability and induſtry could be as uſeful to me as your friendſhip is real, I ſhould ſoon find the effects of it: and this judgment I make not only from the entire credit I gave

to

to your profeſſions, but from the experience I daily have of your brother the ſolicitor's care of all my neareſt concerns; which, next to the king's continued bounty, will owe their greateſt ſecurity and diſpatch to his advice and aſſiſtances. My wife I hope is now in Ireland, both to think and adviſe farther with him.

I am with all reality, my lord, your lordſhip's moſt affectionate humble ſervant ORMOMD.

## *From my lord ambaſſador Montague.*

My Lord, Paris, May 24, 1669.

I Received the favour of your lordſhip's of May the 16th. I am glad to hear that the buſineſs ſo long depending is like to come to ſo ſudden a good concluſion. Both the Spaniards and the Swedes are obliged to your lordſhip, for you have proved a better ſolicitor for them both, than either of them could have been for themſelves.

This court is mightily overjoyed with news that an expreſs has brought in great diligence out of Poland, almoſt aſſuring the prince of Condé's election to that crown. If it ſhould prove ſo, the Swedes have done no ill buſineſs for themſelves in entering into the triple alliance.

The ſuccours deſigned for Candia, they ſay, will certainly be embarked and put to ſea the end of this month.

This is all you ſhall be troubled with at preſent from, my lord, your excellency's moſt obedient humble ſervant R. MONTAGUE.

## *From the conſtable of Caſtile.*

*Bruxelles, Feb.* 6,

My Lord, *Monſieur,* 1670.

I Received your excellency's letter of the 30th paſt, and obſerved,

*J'AY reçeu la lettre de vôtre excellence du 30 du paſſé*

obſerved, among other points, that your excellency there inſinuates to me not to preſs you any more upon the ſpecification of time, nor any other change in the inſtruments, becauſe you had not orders to do it: in anſwer to which I will tell your excellency, that I eſteem as I ought the zeal wherewith you have aſſiſted to the concluſion of the guaranty, and to our advantage; aſſuring you, that I am very much obliged to you for it: and having farther conſidered attentively what your excellency has repreſented to me; and particularly of what importance it was to finiſh this affair; and to manifeſt farther the reſpectful deference I have to whatever can be agreeable to his Britannic majeſty; I have condeſcended the more willingly and readily to the payment of 200,000 patacoons to the miniſters of Sweden, in the form your excellency will have learned more at large from Don Stephen de Gamarra. And beſides, our reſident at London, Don Manuel de Fonſeca, informs me by letters of the 24th and 30th of January, that the lord Keeper, my lord Arlington, and ſecretary Trevor, have all three aſſured him, that after his Britannic majeſty was informed particularly of our reaſons, he had reſolved to order you to conclude

*& veu entre autres points, ce qu'elle m'y inſinue, de ne la vouloir faire plus preſſer ſur la ſpecification du tems, ni aucun autre changement dans les inſtrumens, puis qu'elle n'avoit pas les ordres de le faire. En reponſe de quoy je diray à V. E. que j'eſtime comme je dois le zèle avec lequel elle a co-opere à la concluſion de la garantie, & à nôtre avantage; l'aſſeurant que je luy en demeure très obligé & très reconnoiſſant. Et ayant en outre conſideré attentivement tout ce que V. E. m'a repreſenté, & particulierement l'importance qu'il y avoit d'achever cette affaire, & pour manifeſter tant plus la reſpectueuſe deference que j'ay à tout ce qui peut eſtre agréable à ſa majeſté Britannique: je ſuis condeſcendu tant plus volontiers & promptement à la delivrance des* 200,000 *pattacons aux miniſtres de la couronne de Suede; en la forme que V. E. l'aura appris plus à plein du ſieur Don Eſtevan de Gamarra. Et d'ailleurs, comme nôtre Reſident à la cour de Londres, Don Manuel de Fonſeca, me mande par lettres du* 24 *&* 30 *de Janvier, que le Garde Seaux, milord Arlington, & le ſecretaire Trevor, l'ont tous trois aſſeuré, qu'après que ſa majeſté Britannique avoit eſté informée en detail des raiſons qui nous aſſiſtent, elle avoit reſolue de vous ordonner de conclurre le traité, & de ſpecifier le tems dans l'acte*

clude the treaty, and to ſpecify the time in the act of aſſiſtances, as I had deſired of you; and that, in conformity to this, orders ſhould be ſent you, by which there was no doubt at London, of the entire concluſion of the guaranty. After which notices, and the proofs I have of your excellency's deſire to ſee this affair finiſhed to our ſatisfaction, I have cauſe to hope, that your excellency, having already received the ſaid orders, will be at no farther pain to ſpecify the ſaid term, wherein his Britannic majeſty will give us ſupplies in the ſame form that other confederate princes have granted them, whether in the ſame act, or in an inſtrument apart, as your excellency offers in your letter; and I deſire you earneſtly to do it, that we may acknowledge the entire accompliſhment of this treaty to his Britannic majeſty, and to the diſpoſition of your excellency, from whoſe hand I ſtill expect this favour, accompanied with that of your commands to ſerve you, as being entirely, my lord, your excellency's moſt humble and moſt affectionate ſervant.

*des aſſiſtances, comme je l'avois demandé, & qu'en cette conformité l'on vous envoyeroit les ordres: moyennant quoy l'on ne doutoit plus à Londres de l'entiere concluſion de la garantie. Enſuite deſquelles notices, & des preuves que j'ay du déſir de V. E. de voir vuider cette affaire à nôtre ſatisfaction; j'ay ſujet d'eſperer que vôtre excellence ayant deja reçeu leſdits ordres, elle n'aura plus de peine de ſpecifier ledit terme, auquel ſa majeſté Britannique nous donnera le ſecours, en la même forme que les autres potentates confederez l'ont accordé, ſoit dans le même acte, ou dans un inſtrument à part, comme V. E. l'offre en ſa lettre; & je l'en prie très inſtamment de le vouloir faire, à fin que nous donnions l'accompliſſement tout entier de ce traité à ſa majeſté Britannique, & à la diſpoſition de V. E. de la main de laquelle j'attens encore cette faveur, accompagnée de celle de ſes commandemens en ſon ſervice, comme étant entierement, monſieur, de vôtre excellence le très humble & très affectionné ſerviteur,*

CONNETABLE.

From

## *From the count de Monterey.*

Monſieur, Bruxelles, 27 Juil. 1670.

*LES temoignages qu'il a plû à v're Excellence de me donner de la joye que luy a cauſé le choix que la Reyne ma maîtreſſe a fait de moy pour le gouvernement de ces provinces, ſont ſi evidents, & accompagnés de avis ſi ſalutaires & dignes de la prudence de V. E. que je ne trouve pas de termes propres pour expliquer les ſentimens d'obligation & de gratitude qui m'en demeurent : j'eſpere que cette nouvelle charge me ſubminiſtrera les occaſions frequentes de luy faire voir plût't par les effets & mes ſervices, que par des paroles, le d'ſir que j'ay de cultiver non ſeulement la bonne correſpondance & amitié avec V. E. mais auſſi d'executer les bons conſeils & inſtructions qu'elle a eu agréable de me communiquer en ſa lettre du 22 de ce mois, pour tant mieux addreſſer en cet penible charge ſelon les ſouhaits de V. E. à quoy j'appliqueray tous mes ſoins et mes forces avec autant de chaleur & de paſſion que je ſuis, monſieur, de vôtre excellence le très humble et très dedié ſerviteur,*

J. COMPTE DE MONTEREY.

## *From Sir John Werden.*

My Lord, Stockholm, Sept. 17, O. S. 1670.

I Came to this place about eighteen days ago, and have not in all this time met with any thing worthy of your excellency's notice; the moſt apparent reaſon whereof hath been the abſence of this king and court, who have made a kind of progreſs through ſome parts of this country, and are expected here again about a fortnight hence.

Among other things, I have brought with me, and delivered, a letter from the king my maſter to this king; reciting one lately ſent from Spain, wherein that queen ſignifies her aſſent to the arbitration of

England and Sweden; but at the same time insinuates her desires to have Holland admitted as a third arbitrator; and offering to renew their joint instances to Spain, to induce that crown to consent to the arbitration, in the same form as France hath all along offered; both the king my master and this crown being persuaded that France hath condescended as far already as is necessary for the amicable composure designed; at least, that the arbitrators named by France are as well qualified for it as any other can be.

Your excellency will oblige me much to let me have such notices, relating either to this or any other public matter, as your excellency shall judge proper for me to know: in return whereof, if I am unable to present your excellency with other than relations of the Tartars incursions and success in Muscovy, of our future dismal frosts, of witches out of Lapland, &c. it is the fault of my station, and only my misfortune that I am like to be so useless a correspondent; being otherways very really, my lord, your excellency's most affectionate and most obedient humble servant,

JOHN WERDEN.

P. S. I should be glad to know what consequences are drawn from the French seizure of Lorrain, which at this distance affords us much variety of discourse.

Also, whether the subject of monsieur de Anjeau's embassy from France hither be yet guessed at, and what it is.

## *From monsieur de Witt.*

Hague, Oct. 21, 1670.

My Lord,

I Received the honour of both your excellency's letters of the 23d and 30th of September, upon the subject of the English ship,

*A la Haye, Oct.* 21, 1670.

*Monsieur,*

*J'AY reçeu les deux lettres que vôtre excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire du* 23 *&* 30 *Sept. stile d'Angleterre, au sujet*

ſhip, which the director of the Weſt-India company in the iſle of Curaca has arreſted. Meſſieurs Boreel and Beuninghen have wrote about it at the ſame time to the States General, who are very much diſpoſed to give order in this matter, for all that juſtice can ſuffer to be done, in conſideration of the king of England. But whereas the Spaniſh ambaſſador has preſented them a memorial upon the ſame affair; and that it is, without doubt, of importance for the common good, to have this incident terminated by an amicable concert between the parties; at leaſt, becauſe the rules of common juſtice will not allow that an affair ſhould be decided without hearing him or them that believe themſelves concerned in it: their high mightineſſes have given direction by this ordinary to their miniſters at London, to endeavour bringing the affair to an accommodation between the miniſters of Great Britain and monſieur de Molina the ambaſſador of Spain at his majeſty's court. I ſend you the copy of the ambaſſador Gamarra's memorial, that you may ſee the Spaniards do not agree to what others ſay in their favour; but this will not hinder the States from doing, in conſideration of his majeſty, the utmoſt that

*ſujet de navire Anglois, que le directeur qui eſt de la part de la compagnie des Indes occidentales dans l'Iſle de Curaca a fait arrêter. Meſſieurs Boreel & Van Beuninghen en ont écrit en même tems à Meſs. les Etats Géneraux, qui ſe trouvent fort diſposés à ordonner ſur ce ſujet, tout ce que la juſtice pourra ſouffrir eſtre fait, en la conſideration du roy de la Grande Bretagne. Mais comme monſieur l'ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne leur a preſenté un memoire ſur la même affaire, & qu'il importe ſans doute pour le bien commun que l'on termine cet incident par un concert aimable entre les intereſsées; au moins & que l'ordre & les regles de la juſtice ne permettent pas qui l'on diſpoſe dans une affaire ſans avoir ouy celuy ou ceux qui s'y croyent touches; leurs hautes puiſſances ordonnent par cet ordinaire à meſſieurs leurs miniſtres qui ſont à Londres, de tâcher de porter l'affaire à un accommodement aimable entre les miniſtres du roy de la Grande Bretagne, & monſieur de Molina ambaſſadeur du roy d'Eſpagne à la cour de ſa majeſté. Je vous envoye, monſieur, la copie du memoire de l'ambaſſadeur de Gamarra, afin que vous y voyiez que les Eſpagnols ne demeurent pas d'accord de tout ce que les autres diſent en leur faveur; mais cela n'empêchera pas que meſſieurs les états en faſſent, en la conſideration de ſa*

that can consist with justice; as I in my particular shall contribute all in my power to his satisfaction, and to whatever will help to preserve the good intelligence between his majesty and this State. To this end I could have wished, that there had not appeared, on either side, any libels, verses, medals, or other such displeasing things, and particularly, that the accidents of the last war might no more be thought on, whereof the memory should be for ever abolished. And I confess freely, that in this country, there is a little too much licence given in certain things; though after the most dilgent search we could not find that the libels complained of, were printed in this province. Besides you know, there are epidemical evils which are without remedy, and all that one can do is to give some ease to a distemper which cannot be intirely cured: you, my lord, and those who resemble you, are above such trifles, as you properly call them, and consider only the true intentions of the State, where the king shall ever find all the respect he can desire.

For the rest, I refer myself to what the said deputies of the State will tell you upon the

*majesté, tout ce qui se pourra faire en toute l'étendue de la justice, comme en mon particulier je contribueray toujours ce qui sera de mon pouvoir à sa satisfaction, & à ce qui pourra servir à maintenir la bonne intelligence entre elle & cet Etat. Pour cet effet je souhaiterois que de part & d'autre il n'eût point paru des libelles, des vers, des medailles, ou autres choses semblables, qui eussent pû deplaire; & particulierement que l'on ne songeât plus aux accidens d'une guerre dont la memoire devroit estre abolie à jamais; & j'avoue volontiers qu'en ce païs l'on se donne un peu trop de licence en des certaines choses, quoyque pourtant après une recherche très exacte, l'on n'ait point sçu trouver que les libelles dont on se plaint par de là, ayent esté imprimés en cette province. Mais vous savez aussi qu'il y a des maux épidemiques qui sont sans remede, & que tout ce que l'on y peut faire, c'est d'adoucir le mal que l'on ne peut pas entierement guerir. Vous, monsieur, & ceux qui vous ressemblent, vous estes au-dessus de ce que vous nommez bien bagatelles, & ne vous arrêtez qu'aux veritables intentions de l'état; où le roy trouvera toujours tout le respect & tous les sentimens qu'il pourra souhaiter.*

*Au reste, je me remets à ce que lesdits ministres de l'Etat nous diront de plus sur les matieres*

the ſubject of your laſt letters: and for me, I ſhall ever think it an honour to let the king know, that after the ſervice I owe my country, I ſhall employ myſelf for that of his majeſty, with all imaginable zeal, eſpecially if you will pleaſe to mix yours with mine, ſince it is with an inclination altogether particular that I am, my lord, your excellency's moſt humble and moſt affectionate ſervant.

*tieres contenues en vous ſuſdites lettres. Et pour ce qui eſt de moy, je tiendray à gloire de faire connoître au roy, qu'après le ſervice que je dois à ma patrie, je m'employeray pour celuy de ſa majeſté avec tout le zelé imaginable; ſur tout, quand vous y voudrez mêler le vôtre; puiſque c'eſt avec une inclination tout particuliere que je ſuis, monſieur, de vôtre excellence le très humble & très affectionné ſerviteur* JOHAN. DE WITT.

## *From the baron d' Iſola.*

Hague, Nov. 14.

My Lord, 1670.

I Am extreme glad to hear by your excellency's letter, of your happy return from the country to the court, together with a good account of your health; but I confeſs I ſhould have been much more pleaſed to have learnt it from your own mouth than your letter. Your abſence from this place begins to be tireſome; and every body is much concerned at the great occaſions that are loſt by it, for advancing the public good.

The readineſs that the parliament of England hath ſhewed in giving conſiderable aids to his Britannic majeſty, is a mark of their zeal and prudence; and makes it manifeſt enough, that they know their true intereſt; and apprehend

*A la Haye, 14 Nov.*

*Monſieur,* 1670.

*C'Eſt avec beaucoup de joye j'ay appris par la lettre de vôtre excellence ſon heureux retour de la campagne à la cour, & la parfaite ſanté dont elle jouit. Mais je vous confeſſe que j'aurois beaucoup mieux aimé les apprendre par ſa propre bouche que par ſes lettres: ſon abſence commence à devenir enuyeuſe, & tout le monde eſt diſconcerté beaucoup de bonnes choſes qui ſe pourroient faire pour le bien public.*

*La promptitude que le parlement d'Angleterre a temoigné pour donner des aſſiſtances conſiderables à ſa majeſté Britannique, eſt une marque de ſon zelé & de ſa prudence, & fait aſſès connoitre qu'il connoit ſes veritables interêts, & qu'il ap-*

prehended, as they ought, the progreſs and preparations of the neighbouring princes. I doubt not but his majeſty, will correſpond with their good deſires, by ſuch ſtrong and vigorous reſolutions, as the preſent time and his own intereſt require. France ſtill continues to give out, that England is wholly in their intereſts, and that all theſe preparations are in their favour. At the ſame time the French publiſh this, they endeavour to perſuade us that the emperor has no good intentions, and that they are in a ſtrict league with him. But ſince their game is to rule by making diviſion, ours ought to be that of ſupporting ourſelves by uniting. I believe, the intentions of your court are very ſincere, and I can aſſure you, that ours are ſo too: it only remains that we ſhould rightly underſtand one another, and deſpiſe all the ſuggeſtions of thoſe who can only find their account in our diſunion. I aſſure you, that your long ſtay where you are, is very hurtful to affairs in general, as well as to the particular ſervice of the king your maſter. I dare not mention to you all the bad effects it cauſes: and after all, the French make bad uſe of it towards your court, to publiſh ſo confidently as they do, that they are in private

*prehende comme il doit les progrez & les preparatifs des puiſſances voiſines. Je ne doute pas que ſa majeſté ne correſponde à leurs bons deſirs, par des ſortes & vigoureuſes reſolutions, telles que le tems preſent & ſes propres interêts requierent. La France continue toujours à publier que l' Angleterre eſt d'accord avec elle, & que tous ces preparatifs ſe font en ſa faveur. Elle publie tout cela en même tems qu'elle tache de vous perſuader que l'empereur n'a point de bonnes intentions; & qu'elle eſt en des étroites liaiſons avec luy. Mais comme ſon jeu eſt de regner en diviſant, le nôtre doit eſtre auſſe de nous ſoutenir en nous uniſſant. Je croy les intentions de vôtre cour fort ſinceres, & je vous puis aſſeurer que les nôtres le ſont auſſi. Il ne reſte qu'a nous bien entendre, & à mépriſer de part & d'autre toutes les ſuggeſtions de ceux qui ne peuvent trouver leur compte que dans nôtre deſunion. Je vous aſſeure en verité que vôtre trop long ſejours au lieu où vous eſtes, eſt fort nuiſible aux affaires publiques, & au ſervice particulier de vôtre roy. Je n'oſe pas vous écrire tous les mauvais effets que cela cauſe, & après tout, les François en uſent très mal envers vôtre cour, de publier, comme ils font très effrontement, qu'ils ſont en ſecrette intelligence avec elle; puiſque cela eſt évidement faux, & quand il ſeroit veritable,*

private intelligence there, ſince it is a thing evidently falſe; and if it were true, it is a very unfaithful part in them to divulge it. But they ſerve princes juſt as they do women, whoſe favours they publiſh, whether they have received any or no. I proteſt to you, I think all ſort of commerce with them is dangerous.

Pray believe me to be more than any one in the world, my lord, your excellency's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant.

*veritable, ce ne ſeroit pas agir fidellement de la divulguer: mais ils en uſent avec les princes commes ils ſont avec les femmes, de qui ils publient les faveurs reçeues & non reçeues. Je vous avoue que toute ſorte de commerce avec eux eſt dangereux.*

*Croyez je vous prie que je ſuis plus que perſonne du monde, monſieur, de vôtre excellence très humble & très obeiſſant ſerviteur*

F. D'ISOLA.

## *From Mr. Blaithwayt.*

My Lord, Hague, Sept. 10, N. S. 1671.

I Received yeſterday morning your excellency's letter of Feb. 19th, and at the ſame inſtant went to monſieur de Witt, and imparted to him your lordſhip's commands: to which he anſwered, That he knew of no other paper that monſieur Van Beuninghen had brought over with him, than one ſheet wherein the caſe was ſtated in Latin by the intereſted perſons. Beſides he had hoped ſome agreement might have been made in England with the Spaniſh miniſters: but ſince it is not ſo, he promiſed [d] *d'y tenir la main*, as ſoon as monſieur Van Beuninghen comes from Amſterdam. After which he aſked me when we expected your excellency? my anſwer was, That I could not yet aſſure him of any certain time, but that I thought it would be very ſhortly. He replied, [e] *Qu'on en doutoit bien ici: qu'il ſavoit que le parlement eſtoit fort zelé*

[d] *To give a hand to it.*

[e] *That it was doubted here very much: that he knew, the parliament was very zealous for the common intereſts, but that the court was not over much diſpoſed to them: that, however, they had made one laſt effort in a letter to his majeſty, wherein they offered to*

*zelé pour les interêts communs, mais que la cour n'y eſtoit pas trop diſposée : que neantmoins ils avoient fait un dernier effort par une lettre à ſa majeſté, où ils offroient de faire une alliance auſſi étroite qu'on voudroit. Que pour l'abſence ou venue de vôtre excellence, il les prendroit pour une preuve infallible de la bonne ou maúvaiſe volonté de l'Angleterre.* And as I was taking my leave, he repeated the laſt ſentence; and added, [y] *faites luy mes baiſemains, & dites luy cela de ma part*; which I promiſed to do.

The truth is, my lord, this country has of late generally conceived ſo ill an opinion of England's intentions, that they do quite deſpair of any ſuccour from thence: which makes them the readier to put themſelves in poſture; ſo that the conſent of Zealand being come, the committee council of Holland are ſwearing the new officers, and giving out commiſſions, intending the latter end of this week to deliver the money.

The States of Holland are expected here to-day, and will be compleat this week, notwithſtanding a general faſt and thankſgiving, which will be kept to-morrow through the ſeven provinces, as is uſually done every year.

Your excellency does without doubt know, that captain O-Bryan and Sir Thomas Sands are here; as well as that my lord Oſſory intends in few days to paſs through Flanders, to Nieuport, or Dunkirk, whither the yachts are gone to meet him. I am, my lord, your excellency's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant.

W. Blaithwayt.

## *From Mr. Blaithwayt.*

My Lord, Hague, May 5, N. S. 1671.

UPON the receipt of your excellency's letter of the 14th April, I went to monſieur de Witt to

*to make as ſtrict an alliance as could be deſired. That for the abſence or return of your excellency, they took them for an infallible proof of the good or bad will of England.*

[y] *Make him my compliments, and tell him this from me.*

ſolicit

ſolicit an expedition in the buſineſs of the Engliſh ſhip. He promiſed me *d'y tenir la main*, and to further it as much as poſſible; but withal told me, that it was true, *que nous avions raiſon au fond, mais que nous prenions l'affaire ſur un mauvais pied.* That we have no reaſon in the world to lay the blame upon the Dutch, and to demand ſatisfaction for the injury the Spaniards have done us. That we could not at all prove any breach of articles in what had paſſed. That in caſe (to uſe his example) a man borrowed my ſword, and with it commits murder or robbery, I am not in the leaſt reſponſable for his miſdemeanors, no more than the Dutch for what the Spaniards have done: and if this be true, we have not exhibited any one argument that can hold good. But the argument monſieur de Witt ſays we ought wholly to inſiſt upon, is, that Feroni at the letting out his ſhip made a contract with the Genoueſes (which I have long ſince tranſmitted your lordſhip) wherein it is poſitively ſaid that they ſhould not therein offend or moleſt the Engliſh nation. So that now the Genoueſes having ſo evidently broken this contract, and withal bringing their prize into the dominions of the States; the ſame States may with a great deal of reaſon oblige them to make good the contract they have made with one of their ſubjects. And, juſt as, in caſe the man that has committed robbery with the ſword I had lent him, brings into my hands what he has ſtolen, I am in juſtice to render every thing to the owner. By the ſame reaſon the States are obliged to make reſtitution of the ſhip and lading to the owners, as taken contrary to promiſe, and by the means of a ſhip belonging to one of their ſubjects. For the ſtate of the buſineſs your excellency ſent me, I eaſily gueſſed by monſieur de Witt's diſcourſe, that he had already ſeen it; and having been afterwards with monſieur Schimelpening the chief commiſſioner, as monſieur

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de Witt had adviſed me, to recommend to him the buſineſs, and to inſinuate this argument; I found he had the ſame paper already in his hands in Latin.

As for the other point, whether monſieur Beverning has offered a defenſive or offenſive league with Spain; your lordſhip will pleaſe to remember, that in the intelligence of the 2d of April, it is ſaid, [b] *que cet état avoit toujours rejetté une alliance defenſive que l'Eſpagne avoit offert, & qu'on avoit opiné qu'on la falloit encore rejetter.* But the ſame paper ſays, that at the ſame time it was reſolved, that order ſhould be given to monſieur Beverning to propoſe a treaty for one year only. The States cannot yet have an anſwer whether this treaty has been accepted of or no. However, as ſoon as I can learn any thing farther in this point, I will not fail to inform your lordſhip of it.

Monſieur Pompone went laſt Saturday for Dunkirk, where the French king is by this time. I am, my lord, your excellency's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant, W. BLAITHWAYT.

## *From my lord Arlington.*

SIR, Goring-houſe, June 28, 1671.

I Humbly thank you for your cherries, which were ſo good, that I grieve for the loſs of thoſe that could not find me at Windſor.

Having his majeſty's approbation of your writing to the States to take your leave of them; and he refuſing to ſee your letter; it was not at all neceſſary you ſhould ſhew it me; yet to comply with your deſire, I have read and approved it. You are beſt judge, having lived among them, whether the form be good; to the matter I am ſure nothing can be objected; nor to my profeſſion of being ever your moſt faithful and humble ſervant, ARLINGTON.

[b] *That this State has always rejected a defenſive alliance offered by Spain, and that it was thought they muſt ſtill reject it.*

A

# SURVEY

OF THE

## CONSTITUTIONS and INTERESTS

OF

THE EMPIRE,
SWEDEN,
DENMARK,
SPAIN,

HOLLAND,
FRANCE,
AND
FLANDERS,

WITH

*Their Relation to England in the year* 1671.

And then given to one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, upon the ending of my embassy at the Hague.

THE decay and dissolution of civil, as well as natural bodies, proceeding usually from outward blows and accidents, as well as inward distempers or infirmities, it seems equally necessary for any government to know and reflect upon the constitutions, forces, and conjunctions among their neighbouring states, as well as the factions, humours, and interest of their own subjects; for all power

power is but comparative; nor can any kingdom take a juſt meaſure of its ſafety by its own riches or ſtrength at home, without caſting up at the ſame time, what invaſions may be feared, and what defences expected, from enemies or allies abroad.

It is certain, that ſo advantageous a ſituation, as that of his majeſty's dominions in theſe iſlands of Great Britain and Ireland, makes any foreign conſideration leſs important to us, than to any other nation; becauſe the numbers and native courage of our men, with the ſtrength of our ſhipping, have ſo many ages paſt (and ſtill for ought we yet know) made us a match for the greateſt of our neighbours at land, and an over-match for the ſtrongeſt of them at ſea; whereas whoever hurts us, without our own arms, muſt be able to maſter us in both theſe elements: Yet in regard there are the names of ſeveral conqueſts remaining ſtill upon record (though all of them the mere effects of our own diviſions and invitations) when trade is grown the deſign of all nations in Europe, that are poſſeſſed of any maritime provinces, as being the only unexhauſted mine, and out of whoſe treaſures all greatneſs at ſea naturally ariſes; when, inſtead of a king of France ſurrounded and bearded by dukes of Britany and Burgundy, as well as our own poſſeſſions in Normandy and Guienne; inſtead of a count of Flanders or Holland, who ſerved for no more, than like the ſmaller weights to make the balance ſometimes a little even in the greater ſcales of the Engliſh, French, and German powers; we now behold in France the greateſt land forces that perhaps have ever been known under the command of any Chriſtian prince; and in the United Provinces, the greateſt numbers both of ſhips and mariners that were ever yet heard of under any ſtate in the world; and which have hitherto been only awed by the ſtrength of our oak, the art of our ſhip-wrights, and chiefly by the invincible hearts of our ſeamen: when

when the proſpect of theſe two powers brings us to conſider, that any firm conjunction of them, either by confederacy, or the ſubmiſſion of Holland, will prove the neareſt approach that was ever made to our ruin and ſervitude: It may perhaps import us, in this calm we enjoy, to hearken a little more, than we have done of late, to the ſtorms that are now riſing abroad, and by the beſt perſpectives we can find, to diſcover from what coaſt they break, what curſe they are like to hold, how much we can lie in their danger, and whether the ſhelter, expected from us by our neighbours, will be only a ſtrain of generoſity and humanity, or the beſt proviſion we can make hereafter for our own ſafety.

Thoſe countries, in whoſe actions or intereſts we have at any time concerned ourſelves, have been the Empire, France, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, and the Low-countries, in the two ſeveral bodies uſually diſtinguiſhed by the names of Flanders and Holland. For with Poland we have never gone further than our good wiſhes towards their defence againſt the Turk: nor with Italy, than our offices of ceremony, or intereſt of traffic; unleſs ſometimes ſome ſhort negotiation that ſerved the preſent turn, to ſtop the aſpiring growth of either the French or Spaniſh greatneſs in thoſe as well as nearer parts.

THE foreign intereſts of the Empire are the defence of the eaſtern parts againſt the Turk, and the preſervation of the weſtern circles againſt the growth of France. The domeſtic are the limited conſtitution of the imperial power, and the balance of the ſeveral free princes and ſtates of the Empire among themſelves. The two laſt have raiſed no duſt ſince the peace of Munſter, which ſeems chiefly occaſioned by the Swede's coming in to be a member of

the Empire, upon the ſhare then yielded to him in Pomerania and Bremen, Theſe give him an immediate entrance into the heart of Germany, where the native poverty of his own country makes him conſidered as ſtill upon the wing, and ready to ſtoop at the firſt quarry he can meet with, upon any diviſions in the empire; ſo as there ſeems a general reſolution not to furniſh him with ſuch occaſions. Their defence againſt the Turk will be provided and purſued by common inclinations and forces, unleſs thoſe princes of the weſtern circles ſhould at the ſame time be buſied in ſome nearer danger from France. But if the grand viſier be ſo great a man as he is reputed in politics, as well as arms, he will never conſent, by an invaſion of Hungary, to make way for the advance of the French progreſs into the Empire, which a conqueſt of the Low-countries would make eaſy and obvious: and ſo great acceſſions (with others that would lie fair and open in the Spaniſh provinces upon the Mediterranean) would make France a formidable power to the Turk himſelf, and greater than I ſuppoſe he deſires to ſee any in Chriſtendom. So that it ſeems not improbable, that the preſent peace between the Emperor and the Turk may laſt longer than is generally calculated by the fears or deſires of thoſe who are moſt concerned in it.

In the preſervation of the weſtern circles (eſpecially that of Burgundy and the Rhine) againſt the progreſs of the French greatneſs, the diſpoſitions, if not intereſts of the ſeveral members of the Empire ſeem much more divided. The Emperor himſelf is firm in reſolving it, becauſe he has nothing to fear ſo much as the power and ambition of France, in regard of their common pretenſions to Spain, after the young king's death, and a jealouſy of the Empire itſelf, after a further courſe of ſucceſs: but he will be faint in any execution of ſuch a counſel, unleſs ſpirited by the unanimous decrees of a general diet; from his own diſpoſitions,

which

which are thought rather generous and juſt, than ambitious and enterpriſing; from the influence of the Jeſuits in that court, who are obſerved to grow generally French, as they were Spaniſh in the laſt age; from the fear of the Turks, who are ſtill like a cloud that hangs over his head; and from a jealouſy of Sweden's joining abſolutely with France, which might ſhare a great part of the Empire between them.

The elector of Saxony would fall intirely into the intereſts of the emperor in this point, as a prince that is a true German, loves the liberty of the Empire, foreſees that if it ſhould fall into the French hands all the princes would grow little companions to what they are, or return to be the ſeveral officers of his court, as they were in the unlimited greatneſs of ſome ancient emperors. Beſides, his diſtance from France, though it does not inſtruct him to think wiſer than other princes, yet it helps him to ſpeak boldlier what he thinks upon theſe conjunctures.

The elector of Brandenburgh and landgrave of Heſſe, and, at leaſt, two of the dukes of Lunenburgh, are, in their diſpoſitions and judgments, upon the ſame intereſts; but will be influenced and awed by Sweden, whoſe ill talent will be ſtill ſuſpected to Brandenburgh, upon the differences in Pruſſia, and to Lunenburgh, upon the late diſappointment at Bremen.

The electors of Mentz and Triers have the ſame inclinations; but, lying at the mercy of France, in ſo near and ſo imperious a neighbourhood, they will take no meaſures wherein they may not ſee their own ſafety provided for, as well as that of the Empire; wherein no prince has greater reputation of prudence and caution than the biſhop of Mentz.

The elector Palatine, either upon remainders of the ancient leagues with France, or quarrels with the houſe of Auſtria, has been thought inclined to the French; but as a wiſe prince will be found generally

in the true intereſts of the Empire, as far as the ſeat of his country will give him leave, which, in a war, will be ſo much expoſed.

The elector of Bavaria has been eſteemed wholly in the French intereſts ſince the treaty of Munſter; but, by what ties or motives, has not fallen under my obſervation, in regard of the diſtance of his country, and ſmall commerce out of the limits of the Empire.

The elector of Cologne is a perſon of much natural goodneſs and candor, but of age and infirmities, and whom devotion and chemiſtry have ſhared between them, and, in a manner, removed from the affairs of his ſtate; which have been long and entirely devolved upon the biſhop of Straſburgh; a man buſy, and always in motion or intrigue: but for the reſt, whether upon future ambition, or preſent advantages, eſteemed to be perfectly in the French intereſts; ſo as whatever uſe can be made by France of that elector's name or country, may be reckoned upon as wholly at the devotion of that crown.

The duke of Nieuburgh is, in his perſon and mien, rather like an Italian than a German; and ſhould be ſo in his diſpoſition, by playing the game of an Italian prince; in declaring no partialities, provoking no enemies, and living more retired than the other princes of his country: having never ſhewed any ambition but for the crown of Poland, which deſign helped to inſpire him with great compliance towards all his neighbours, and other princes, who were able to do him good or ill offices in that point. But the failing of it was thought to have ſomething diſobliged him from France (upon whoſe aſſiſtance he reckoned) and has ſunk him in a debt which he will hardly recover.

The biſhop of Munſter is made only conſiderable by his ſituation, which lies, the fitteſt of all others, to invade Holland; and by the diſpoſitions of this man, which are unquiet, and ambitious to raiſe a name in

the world: an old implacable hatred to the Dutch, upon their intelligence with his chief town of Munſter; their uſurpation (as he pretends) of Borkloe, and ſome other ſmall places in his country; their protection of the counteſs of Benthem; and the hopes of ſharing Overyſſel or Frieſland, if ever their ſpoils come to be divided, make him a certain friend to what prince ſoever is enemy to them, and will furniſh him with men or money enough to appear in the head of an army againſt them.

The general intereſt that the ſeveral princes of the Empire have with us, is grounded wholly upon the eſteem of his majeſty's power, and the veneration of his name; which is ſo great amongſt them, that moſt of them are reſolved, in the preſent conjuncture of affairs in Chriſtendom, to underſtand perfectly his language, before they ſpeak their own.

THE government of Sweden is eſteemed ſteady and wiſe, as their people warlike and numerous. The digeſtion of their counſels is made in a ſenate, conſiſting of forty counſellors, who are generally the greateſt men of the kingdom, in office, eſtates, or abilities; and who have, moſt of them, been commanders in the German wars, or are ſo in the preſent militia; which makes their counſels generally warlike and ambitious, though ſomething tempered by the minority of their king. This has turned them, for ſome years ſince their laſt king's death, rather to make advantages by the name and reputation of their alliances, than by the appearance of their arms. But if their king grows a man, and of martial thoughts, as may be preſaged from ſo great a father, we may ſee great actions and revolutions grow again out of this northern climate. For the names of Goth and Vandal, and their famous ſucceſſes both in Poland and Germany this

laſt age, inſpire them with great thoughts; and the bodies and courages of their common men, as well as the prudence and conduct of their great officers, ſeem to have framed them for great undertakings. Beſides, their application of late years to trade has much increaſed their ſhipping and ſeamen (which they found to be their weak ſide in their laſt attempts.) All theſe may, in time, make way for their great deſign, which is, the dominion of the Baltic ſea by the conqueſt of Denmark. This was, about the year 59, wreſted out of their hands by the Dutch aſſiſtances, and can hardly eſcape them, if ever that commonwealth ſhould be broken. And if they arrive once at this point, there will grow a power in that rough climate, which, both at land and ſea, may equal moſt others that are now in Chriſtendom; by being maſters of ſuch numbers of ſtrong and valiant men, as well as of all the naval ſtores that furniſh the world.

They have a nearer proſpect upon the city of Bremen, by the addition whereof to the biſhoprick already in their poſſeſſion, they deſign to lay a great foundation, both of trade and ſtrength, in the nearer parts of Germany.

Their next intereſt ſeems to be a long knocking war in the Empire, or the Low-countries; which will make them courted by all till they think fit to declare, and then will bring them to a ſhare in the game: and thoſe often go away with the greateſt, who bring in leaſt when the ſtake begins. The neglects of France, ſince the peace of Munſter, and the late courtſhip of Spain, ſeem to have left them open for the faireſt offer from either of thoſe crowns; but rather inclined to Spain, which has ſtill the ſureſt funds of treaſure (if they could fall into good method or direction) and to whom they are more neceſſary than to France, which has out-grown almoſt all meaſures with their neighbours. They have a pique to Holland,

land, ſomething in ſhew, but more at heart, at lying croſs to their three deſigns; the dominion of the Baltick, their acquiſition of Bremen, and a war in the upper or lower Germany. And they are ſo wiſe a ſtate as to be found commonly in their intereſt; which, for theſe reaſons, is either an abſolute breaking, or a great weakening, of that commonwealth. Beſides, they eſteemed themſelves at leaſt neglected by them in the late negotiation of the triple alliance, wherein they expected conſtant ſubſidies in the time of peace, from Spain and Holland, to engage them in the defence of all thoſe provinces againſt the threatening power of France.

An old friendſhip to our nation, and alliance, proceeding from a long conjunction of intereſts, beſides the neceſſity of keeping well with one of the greateſt maritime powers, will (as may be conjectured) perſuade them to follow his majeſty's meaſures the cloſeſt and furtheſt of any ſtate in Europe. This gave them the firſt deſign of entering into the triple alliance, and into the commerce with Spain in the year 68, and their reſolution of keeping pace with his majeſty in both theſe points, as well as the conſequences of them, which they will do, unleſs the preſent ſcene ſhould wholly change, and open new counſels and intereſts not yet thought of in the world.

THE kingdom of Denmark ſeems leſs conſiderable than their neighbour-crown, from a fainter ſpirit which appears of late in their people, and in their government itſelf; as well as a great inequality of number in their forces, both at ſea and land: for the laſt change of their government, from elective to hereditary, has made it ſeem hitherto of leſs force and unfitter for action abroad. As all great changes, brought about by force or addreſs, in an old conſtitu-

tion of government, rooted in the hearts and cuſtoms of the people, though they may in time prove an increaſe of ſtrength and greatneſs (when fallen into method, and grown eaſy by uſe) yet, for many years, they muſt needs weaken it, by the diviſions and diſtractions of mens minds, and diſcontents of their humours, and ſo turn the counſels upon deſigns within, deſiſting from any without; and advantages upon enemies muſt give way to thoſe upon ſubjects. So as the breaking down an old frame of government, and erecting a new, ſeems like the cutting down an old oak (becauſe the fruit decays, and the branches grow thin) and planting a young one in the room. 'Tis true, the ſon or grandſon (if it proſpers) may enjoy the ſhade and the maſte; but the planter, beſides the pleaſure of imagination, has no other benefit to recompenſe the pains of ſetting and digging, the care of watering and pruning, the fears of every ſtorm and every drought; and it is well if he eſcapes a blow from the fall of the old tree, or its boughs, as they are lopped off.

The change in Denmark was the ſafer, by having to deal with a ſoft eaſy people, and with nobles grown to have ſmall power or intereſt among them, and of whom many were gained by the crown. Beſides, that nothing ſeemed to concern property in the change of ſucceſſive for elective. And the example of all chriſtian crowns (beſides that of Poland) made way for it: and yet it is certain, that Denmark has continued ever ſince weak and unſpirited, bent only upon ſafety, and enjoying the revenues of the Sound (which are the chief belonging to that crown.) So as their great intereſt is their defence againſt Sweden; and for the reſt, a general peace, by which traffic increaſing, they may come in for a ſhare, and ſee their cuſtoms grow in the Sound and Norway. They reckoned chiefly upon their ſupport from Holland, till ſeeing them fall into cloſer meaſures with us and Sweden, upon the triple alliance,

alliance, they have tacked ſome points nearer France; and the rather, becauſe of the unkindneſs grown in the laſt Dutch war between us and them. Yet, they have it at heart, that Holland has ever uſed them inſolently, if not ſcornfully, in the whole courſe of their treaties and alliances, as well as the differences between them about the payments of the Sound; and will be ever ready and reſolute in the defence of Hamborough, whenever the Danes ſhall have ſtrength and heart enough to attack it; which ſeems the chief ambition they have left them abroad.

THE crown of Spain was in all Philip the ſecond's time, looked upon as both the terror and defence of Chriſtendom; no monarchy having ever graſped at ſo great an empire there, and at the ſame time purſued an open war againſt ſo great a power as the Turks. This greatneſs was grown up by the union of the houſe of Caſtile and Arragon, of that of Burgundy and the Netherlands, with that of Naples and Sicily; by the acceſſion or conqueſt of Portugal; by that of the Indies, when their mines bled freſh, as they did many years after their firſt opening; by the number of brave troops and leaders which were raiſed and made by the various and continual wars of Charles V. but chiefly by the uninterrupted ſucceſſion of three great princes, Ferdinand, Charles, and Philip; which can never fail of raiſing a ſmall kingdom to a great, no more than the contrary of bringing down a great one to a ſmall. But whoever meaſures the crown of Spain now by the ſcale of that age, may fancy a man of fourſcore by a picture drawn of him at thirty: 'Tis like a great old tree, which has loſt its branches and leaves, *et trunco non frondibus efficit umbram.* Though no man knows, whether out of this old root a ſucker may not ſpring, that with a little ſhelter at firſt, and good ſeaſons,

may in time prove a mighty tree; for there ſeems ſtill to remain ſtrength and ſap in the root to furniſh a fair growth, though not in proportion to the firſt. Theſe decays have been occaſioned by ſo long a war with Holland (ſupported by all the neighbours, who envied or feared the greatneſs of Spain;) by the exhauſting in a great degree of their Indian mines; by that of their natives, to furniſh the Indian conqueſts, and ſecure all their provinces both in Italy and Flanders; but moſt of all by two ſucceſſions (which we may at leaſt call) of unactive princes, and the want of any great miniſtry to repair either them, or the minority of this king, in which they ended. Unleſs this crown outgrow its preſent weakneſs by ſome great ſpirit riſing up at the head of the monarchy, who ſhall digeſt their counſels, reform the vaſt and impertinent profuſions of their treaſures by ſuppreſſing all unneceſſary penſions and expences, and reſtore the vigour of their nation by martial deſigns and examples; we may reckon the intereſt of Spain to lie wholly in the preſervation and defence of Flanders from France, of Sicily from the Turks, and of their Indies from us. That of Sicily ſeems more remote, becauſe both Hungary and Poland is a nearer game for the Turk, and will not ſo generally alarm or unite the chriſtian princes, as the invaſion of Sicily, wherein France, as well as Italy, is ſo near concerned. The jealouſy of their Indies has been much nearer them ſince our poſſeſſion of Jamaica; and akes at heart upon every fit which the deſperate ſallies of our privateers there bring upon them. But they hope to make fair weather in thoſe ſeas by opening to us ſome advantages of trade there, and by a conjunction of intereſts in Europe, which they think the greatneſs of France makes as neceſſary to us as to them.

Their quarrel to France, by a courſe of almoſt continual wars ever ſince Charles the V.'s time, by the late pretenſions to Flanders ſet on foot by France ſince the death

death of their laſt king, and purſued by the late invaſion (which the Spaniards pretend to have been againſt all faith, as well as right) ſeems to be grown wholly incurable, though diſſembled by the ſenſe of their own weakneſs, which makes them rather willing to deceive themſelves with a peace that they know muſt fail them, than break out into a war they fear muſt ruin them, without the aſſiſtance of their neighbours. And this they hope ſome breach of the peace at Aix on the French ſide, or other accidents, may one time or other engage for them. And though, as they ſtand ſingle, their preſent intereſt is but bare defence, and wearing out their king's minority without further loſſes; yet a greater intereſt, and far more at heart, is a war with France, in conjunction with the triple alliance, or at leaſt with us and Holland. For though the peace holds yet, while France continues ſo great forces and deſigns on foot, the preſervation of Flanders will coſt Spain 200 m. pounds a-year, beſides the revenues of the country. And what is left them in thoſe provinces remains ſo locked and interwoven with the laſt French conqueſts, that upon the firſt breach of a war it is all endangered; and indeed cannot be any ways ſecured, but by a ſtrong diverſion, which may employ the greateſt part of the French forces in ſome other places. Theſe regards, and that of being hardly uſed (as they conceive) by us and Holland, in the peace of Aix, which forced them to quit ſo much of their country to France, and of their money to Sweden, have raiſed up a party in their council, that would make and ſecure the beſt peace they can with France, by a ceſſion of Flanders to that crown, in exchange for other provinces towards Spain, and of ſome other pretenſions. But this will not be carried in a minority of their king; at leaſt without greater fears of a ſudden invaſion from France, and greater deſpairs of help from us. Becauſe, whenever they quit Flanders, they muſt be

content

content to ſhut themſelves up within their mountains, and ſignify nothing more in the affairs of Europe. Nor could they perhaps long be ſafe either in Spain or Italy, if they were there to ſuſtain all the forces of France, without the great diverſion they have always made by Flanders; out of which whenever they are maſters of the field, they march in four or five days up into the very iſle of France.

To compaſs theſe two intereſts, either of defence, or a war in confederacy, they would fain engage Sweden; but will endanger this aim, by the fear of venturing their money before the game begins. They reckon themſelves ſure of Holland as far as their defence, but know, they will never be brought to begin a war with France. And the old rancours between Spaniard and Dutch are not yet enough worn out of the diſpoſitions of the people or the governments, to make room for ſuch an abſolute turn. Their great hope is in England, where their inclination carries them as well as their intereſt. Beſides, they think our old as well as freſh quarrels with France, and the jealouſy of their preſent growth, will temper us for their turn at one time or other; ſo that their meaſures will ever be fair with us, but no more towards preſerving their peace, becauſe they think our intereſt as well as our treaties will be enough to engage us ſo far, without other motives; though to head a war againſt France, wherein both Sweden and Holland would (as they think) follow our paces, there is no advantage which the crown of Spain could make us in trade, nor money they could ſpare from their own neceſſities (in the ſhare of the quarrel) which they would not willingly furniſh us, and truſt to the events of a war how uncertain ſoever.

THE State of Holland, in point both of riches and ſtrength, is the moſt prodigious growth that has

has been ſeen in the world, if we reckon it from their peace with Spain; before which time, though their forces were great both at land and ſea, yet they were kept down by too violent exerciſe; and that government could not be ſaid to ſtand upon its own legs, leaning always on their neighbours, who were willing to ſupport them againſt Spain, and fearing nothing from a State ſo narrow in compaſs of land, and ſo weak in native ſubjects, that the ſtrength of their armies has ever been made up of foreign troops. But ſince that time, what with the benefit of their ſituation, and orders of their government, the conduct of their miniſters (driving on ſteady and public intereſt) the art, induſtry, and parſimony of their people, all conſpiring to derive almoſt the trade of the whole world into their circle (while their neighbours were taken up either in civil or foreign wars) they have grown ſo conſiderable in the world, that for many years they have treated upon an equal foot with all the great princes of Europe, and concluded no negotiation without advantage: and, in the laſt war with us and Munſter, were able at the ſame time to bring above an hundred men of war to ſea, and maintain threeſcore and ten thouſand men at land. Beſides, the eſtabliſhment or conqueſts of their companies in the Eaſt-Indies have in a manner erected another ſubordinate commonwealth in thoſe parts; where upon occaſion they have armed five and forty men of war, and thirty thouſand land-men, by the modeſteſt computations. Yet the frame of this State (as of moſt great machines made for reſt and not for motion) is abſolutely incapable of making any conſiderable enlargements or conqueſts upon their neighbours: which is evident to all that know their conſtitutions; but needs no other argument beſides their want of native ſubjects to manage any ſuch attempts; what men they can ſpare being drawn ſo wholly into their trade, and their Eaſt-Indies, that they cannot ſo much as furniſh

a colony for Surinam, proportioned to the ſafety and plantation of that place: and no nation ever made and held a conqueſt by mercenary arms. So that the wounds and fears they can give their neighbours, conſiſt in point of trade; in injuries of inſolences at ſea; in falling with great weight into a balance with other princes; in protecting their rebels or fugitives; and in an arrogant way of treating with other princes and ſtates, a quality natural to men bred in popular governments, and derived of late years from the great ſucceſſes of theirs under the preſent miniſtry.

It may be laid (I believe) for a maxim, that no wiſe ſtate will ever begin a war, unleſs it be upon deſigns of conqueſts, or neceſſity of defence; for all other wars ſerve only to exhauſt forces and treaſure, and end in untoward peaces, patched up out of weakneſs or wearineſs of the parties: therefore the Hollanders, unleſs invaded either at home or in Flanders (which they eſteem now the ſame caſe, if it comes from France) can have no intereſt to offer at a war, but find their greateſt in continuing their courſe of traffic uninterrupted, and enjoying the advantages which, in that point, their induſtry and addreſs will gain them from all their neighbours. And for theſe ends they will endeavour to preſerve the peace now in being, and bandy by leagues and negotiations againſt any from whom they ſhall fear a breach of it.

They will ever ſeek to preſerve themſelves by an alliance with England againſt France, and by that of France againſt England, as they did formerly by both againſt Spain. And they will fall into all conjunctures which may ſerve to balance in ſome meaſure the two leſſer crowns of Sweden and Denmark, as well as the greater of France and Spain. But, becauſe they believe that good arms are as neceſſary to keep peace as to make war, they will always be great in their preparations of that kind, eſpecially at ſea; by which they may,

may, in all cafes, advance or ſecure their trade, and upon a war with France make up that way the weakneſs of their land-forces, which a long ruſt of peace, and a ſwarm of officers, preferred by the magiſtrates in favour of their relations, has brought to be very diſproportioned in force to what they are in number. They eſteem themſelves ſecure from Spain and their German neighbours (upon what has been ſaid of the preſent condition of thoſe princes) and from us, not ſo much upon our late treaties with them, as upon what they take to be the common intereſt, which they think a nation can never run over, and believe is the oppoſing any further progreſs of the French greatneſs. Their only danger, they apprehend, is from France, and that not immediately to themſelves, but to Flanders, where any flame would ſoon ſcorch them, and conſume them, if not quenched in time. But in regard of the weakneſs of Spain, the ſlow motions of the Empire, the different paces among the princes of it, and the diſtance of Sweden; they eſteem the peace of Chriſtendom to depend wholly upon his majeſty, as well as the ſafety of Flanders, in caſe of a war. For they think France will be dared, and never take wing, while they ſee ſuch a naval power as ours and the Dutch hovering about all their coaſts; and ſo many other princes ready to fall in, whenever his majeſty declares, united by the ſame jealouſies or dangers. And, if they ſhould open a war, they foreſee the conſumption which France muſt fall into by the ſtop of their wine, ſalts, and other commodities (now in a manner wholly taken off by our two nations) and the head that may be made againſt their forces in the field itſelf, by a body of Engliſh infantry (ſo much renowned abroad.) So as though their firſt intereſt be to continue the peace, while it may be done with any ſafety; yet, when that fails, their next is to open a war in favour of Spain, and conjunction with us: and the greateſt they have in the

the world, is to preſerve and increaſe their alliance with us; which will make them follow our meaſures abſolutely in all the preſent conjunctures.

THE crown of France, conſidered in the extent of country, in the number of people, in the riches of commodities, in the revenues of the king, the greatneſs of the land-forces now on foot, and the growth of thoſe at ſea (within theſe two years paſt) the number and bravery of their officers, the conduct of their miniſters, and chiefly in the genius of their preſent king; a prince of great aſpiring thoughts, unwearied application to whatever is in purſuit, ſevere in the inſtitution and preſervation of order and diſcipline; in the main a manager of his treaſure, and yet bountiful from his own motions where-ever he intends the marks of favour, and diſcerns particular merit; to this, in the flower of his age, at the head of all his armies, and hitherto unfoiled in any of his attempts either at home or abroad: I ſay, conſidered in all theſe circumſtances, France may appear to be deſigned for greater atchievements and empires, than have been ſeen in Chriſtendom ſince that of Charlemaign.

The preſent greatneſs of the crown may be chiefly derived from the fortune it has had of two great miniſters (Richelieu and Mazarine) ſucceeding one another, between two great kings, Henry IV. and this preſent prince; ſo as during the courſe of one unactive life, and of a long minority, that crown gained a great deal of ground both at home and abroad, inſtead of loſing it, which is the common fate of kingdoms upon thoſe occaſions.

The latter greatneſs of this crown began in the time of Lewis XI. by the ſpoils of the houſe of Burgundy, and the diviſions of the princes, which gave that king the heart of attempting to bring the government

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(as he called it) *hors de page*; being before controuled by their princes, and reſtrained by their ſtates; and, in point of revenue; kept within the bounds of the king's demeſnes, and the ſubjects voluntary contributions.

'Tis not here neceſſary to obſerve, by what difficulties and dangers to the crown, this deſign of Lewis was purſued by many ſucceeding kings, like a great ſtone forced up a hill, and, upon every ſlacking of either ſtrength or care, rolling a great way back, often to the very bottom of the hill, and ſometimes with the deſtruction of thoſe that forced it on, till the time of Cardinal Richelieu. It was in this great miniſter moſt to be admired, that finding the regency ſhaken by the factions of ſo many great ones within, and awed by the terror of the Spaniſh greatneſs without, he durſt reſolve to look them both in the face, and begin a war, by the courſe of which for ſo many years (being purſued by Mazarine till the year 60,) the crown of France grew to be powerfully armed; the peaſants were accuſtomed to payments (which could have ſeemed neceſſary only by a war, and which none but a ſucceſful one could have helped to digeſt) and grew heartleſs as they grew poor. The princes were ſometimes ſatisfied with commands of the army, ſometimes mortified and ſuppreſſed by the abſoluteneſs or addreſſes of the miniſtry: the moſt boiling blood of the nobility and gentry was let out in ſo long a war, or waſted with age and exerciſe: at laſt it ended at the Pyrenees in a peace, and a match ſo advantageous to France, as the reputation of them contributed much to the authority of the young king, who was bred up in the counſels, and ſerved by the tried inſtruments of the former miniſtry; but moſt of all advantaged by his own perſonal qualities, fit to make him obeyed, grew abſolute maſter of the factions of the great men, as well as the purſes of his people. In the beginning of his minority, the two diſputes of the pope about the

the outrage of the Corſi, and with the king of Spain, about the encounter at London, between the count D'Eſtrades and the baron de Banteville (ambaſſadors from thoſe crowns) both carried ſo high, and both ended ſo honourably, and to the very will of France, were enough to give a young prince the humour and appetite of trying yet further what there was could oppoſe him. The invaſion and eaſy ſucceſs in Flanders fed his glory, and increaſed the reputation of his power, till this career was interrupted by the peace at firſt, then the alliances between us and Holland, and afterwards the peace at Aix, and the triple alliance contracted purpoſely to ſecure it; ſince which time the counſels of that court have turned wholly from action to negotiation; of which no man can yet ſee the ſucceſs, nor judge whether it may not be more proſperous to them, than that of their arms.

If there were any certain height where the flights of power and ambition uſed to end, one might imagine, that the intereſt of France were but to conſerve its preſent greatneſs, ſo feared by its neighbours, and ſo glorious in the world: but beſides that the motions and deſires of human minds are endleſs, it may perhaps be neceſſary for France (from reſpects within) to have ſome war or other in purſuit abroad, which may amuſe the nation, and keep them from reflecting upon their condition at home, hard and uneaſy to all but ſuch as are in charge, or in pay from the court. I do not ſay miſerable (the term uſually given it) becauſe no condition is ſo, but to him that eſteems it ſo; and if a paiſan of France thinks of no more than his coarſe bread and his onions, his canvas cloaths and wooden ſhoes; labours contentedly on working-days, and dances or plays merrily on holy-days; he may, for ought I know, live as well as a boor of Holland, who is either weary of his very eaſe, or whoſe cares of growing ſtill richer and richer waſte his life in toils at land,

or

or dangers at sea; and perhaps fool him so far, as to make him enjoy less of all kind in his riches, than the other in his poverty.

But to leave strains of philosophy, which are ill mingled with discourses of interest: the common people of France are as little considerable in the government, as the children; so that the nobles and the soldiers may in a manner be esteemed the nation; whose interest and hopes carry them all to war: and whatever is the general humour and bent of a nation ought ever to be much considered by a state, which can hardly miscarry in the pursuit of it. Besides, the personal dispositions of the king, active and aspiring, and many circumstances in the government (fitter for persons of that court, than strangers to pretend the knowledge of:) the continual increase of their forces in time of peace, and their fresh invasion of Lorrain, are enough to persuade most men, that the design of this crown is a war, whenever they can open it with a prospect of succeeding to purpose; for their counsels are too wise to venture much upon the hopes of little gains. What the aims of France are in this kind, I will not pretend to judge by common fears or the schemes of men too ingeniously politic; nor perhaps can any one tell any more than a man that leaps into the water in strength and vigour, and with pleasure, can say how far he will swim; which will be, till he is stopped by currents or accidents, or grows weary, or has a mind to do something else. One may judge, that, if France will begin a war, it would be naturally upon Flanders, unless discouraged by the same alliances which prevailed with them to end the last; so as the plain present interest of France is one way or other to break the confidence or the force of that triple alliance, which alone seems to bound their prospect, which way soever they look: and, if once laid open, they have the world and their fortunes before them;

which is enough for a crown that has ſo much force, and ſo much conduct to manage them. Having little hopes of breaking this on the Dutch ſide, and knowing the Swede will follow our meaſures in it, we may be ſure of all addreſs, and all the courtſhip that can any way be infuſed: and in ſhort, all ſorts of endeavours and applications that can be uſed, to break in on ours. Which ſeems to be the preſent game of that crown, and that they will begin no other till they ſee an end of this.

FLanders cannot be conſidered diſtinct from Spain in the government, but may in the inclinations of the people, which muſt ever have a great influence upon it. They are the beſt ſubjects in the world, but may have ſome reaſon to be weary of being the theatre of almoſt perpetual wars; and where thoſe two mighty crowns have fought ſo many battles, and ſeem to have ſtill ſo many more to fight, if the neighbour-aſſiſtances fall in to balance their powers, now ſo unequally matched. Therefore the intereſt of the inhabitants of thoſe Spaniſh provinces ſeems to be, either that the preſent peace ſhould be kept inviolate by the ſtrength and reputation of the preſent alliances; or elſe, that a war, when it opens, ſhould have a ſudden iſſue, which might be expected, either from the French conqueſt, or a propoſition of exchange. They are naturally averſe from the French government, as they are inclined to the Spaniſh; but have ſo little kindneſs for the Hollanders, or eſteem of their land-forces, that they hardly either hope or care to be ſaved by their aſſiſtances. So as the reputation of his majeſty's protection and alliance is all that can inſpire them with the hopes of a laſting peace, or the courage to defend themſelves by a war.

FROM

FROM the ſurvey of all theſe ſeveral intereſts, and forces, and diſpoſitions that compoſe the preſent ſtate of all our neighbours, it may be naturally and unqueſtionably concluded, that a continuance of the preſent meaſures, the opening of new ones, or an abſolute revolution of all, depends wholly upon thoſe his majeſty ſhall take or purſue in this great conjuncture, wherein he ſeems to be generally allowed for the ſole arbiter of the affairs of Chriſtendom.

OUR intereſt abroad muſt lie in one of theſe points. Either to preſerve our preſent alliances, and thereby the peace of Chriſtendom as it now ſtands:

Or to encourage France to an invaſion of Holland, with aſſurance of our neutrality:

Or elſe to join with France upon the advantages they can offer us for the ruin of the Dutch.

Upon the firſt is to be conſidered, whether, with a longer peace, the power of France and Holland, with ſo great revenues, and ſuch application as is ſeen in their governments, will not increaſe every year out of proportion to what ours will do; the revenues of France ariſing originally from the vent of their native commodities, and thoſe of Holland growing wholly out of trade, and that out of peace.

Upon the ſecond, whether France will ever reſolve upon the invaſion of Holland, or Holland upon its own reſolute defence, without our ſhare in the war; which would otherwiſe leave us to enjoy the trade of the world, and thereby to grow vaſtly both in ſtrength and treaſures, whilſt both theſe powers were breaking one another. Or whether the jealouſy of ſuch a deſign in us would not induce France and Holland, either before a war, or ſoon after it begins, to cloſe upon ſome meaſures between them to our diſadvantage, as we and Holland did after the laſt war, to the diſadvantage of France.

Upon the laſt, whether, by the ruin of Holland, we can reap as great advantages, as France, (though perhaps greater were neceſſary to make ſome equality in our powers.) And, to gain a fair proſpect of this, it muſt be conſidered, whether Holland upon its fall would grow an acceſſion to the French or to us; or live under the prince of Orange as a ſovereign prince, with our ſupport or protection. Whether France would be content with either of theſe laſt; or to ſee us grow abſolute maſters of the ſea, by the fall or ſubjection of Holland, any more than by their conjunction and alliance. Whether we could be able to defend the maritime provinces, either in our own ſubjection, or in that of the prince, whilſt France remained poſſeſſed of all the outworks of that State, which are their inland provinces, their towns in Brabant and upon the Rhine: whether we could, on the other ſide, hinder the acceſſion of Holland to France, either as ſubjects in a maritime province (with great privileges and immunities for continuance and encouragement of trade) or as an inferior and dependant ally under their protection. Whether in either of theſe caſes our government would have credit enough in Holland to invite their ſhipping and traders to come over and ſettle in England, and ſo leave thoſe provinces deſtitute of both. Whether it be poſſible to preſerve Flanders after the loſs of Holland; or, upon the conqueſt of thoſe countries by France, for us to preſerve our peace or good intelligence with that king; or upon a war to defend ourſelves, either by our own forces, or the alliances of our neighbours.

But though theſe arguments may deſerve the moſt ſerious deliberations of miniſters at home; yet I know they lie out of the compaſs of my duty, and are improper for the repreſentations of a man, the courſe of whoſe employments and thoughts for ſo long a time has lain wholly abroad.

To

# To the DUKE of ORMOND,

*Written in October, 1673,*

Upon his Grace's desiring me to give him my Opinion,

## What was to be done in that Conjuncture.

THERE never was any conjuncture wherein it was more necessary for his majesty to fall into a course of wise and steady counsels, nor ever any wherein it was more difficult to advise him. To make reflexions upon what is past is the part of ingenious, but irresolute men, or else of such as intend to value themselves by comparison with others whose corruptions or follies they condemn. But, in all matters of counsel, the good and prudent part is to take things as they are (since the past cannot be recalled) to propose remedies for the present evils, and provisions against future events.

The king finds himself engaged in the second year of a war with the Dutch, and for prosecution thereof in a strict alliance with France; and now in danger of being entangled in the quarrel broken out upon this occasion between France and the house of Austria. In this state of affairs, it is to be considered whether we can pursue our war with Holland, and yet preserve our peace with Spain; whether we are able to maintain the war with both in conjunction with France; and if not, what there is left for his majesty to do, with the best regard to his honour and safety.

For the first, we shall soon be out of doubt; but in the mean time 'tis very unlikely that, upon the late conjunction between Holland and Spain, the Dutch should have obliged themselves to make no peace without the inclusion of their allies; and that Spain should not have yielded to break with us, in case they could not effect a peace between us and Holland; since the Dutch know nothing could farther induce us to it, than the fear of a breach with Spain, and so great a loss of trade in those dominions. The Spaniards have but one temptation of their own to quarrel with us, which is an occasion of recovering Jamaica; for that has even lain at their hearts, and 'tis to be feared their conjunction with Holland has not been perfected without early measures between them for the surprise of that island, unless our care has been as early in providing for its defence. And if we should lose it, I foresee little hurt we could do Spain in their Indies, guarded as they would be, and attended by the shipping of the Dutch. But his majesty will, I suppose, soon know from Spain what he is to trust to in this point.

To judge, whether upon a breach with Spain we are able to maintain the war, must be considered the present state of the king's treasure, the rise or fall that may happen in his constant revenue by the Spanish war, the hopes that may be grounded upon supplies from France, the assurance or measure of those expected from the parliament, the credit of the exchequer to raise present money where-ever any of these fall short, and the humour of the nation towards carrying on or ending the war.

For the present state of the treasury, the king best knows it himself, or his officers can best give the account. For the changes that may happen in his revenue, 'tis evident they must be much for the worse the very first year of a Spanish war. The main branch of it, which is the customs, must wither away

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in a very great measure, since all the trade in a manner left us upon the Dutch war (that has turned to any account) has been that with Spain and into the Straits: the first upon a Spanish war will be wholly lost; the last can neither be secured by our own convoys, nor by the French fleets in the Mediterranean, from the Dutch capers that will fill the Spanish havens, and from those of Biscay, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Majorca, which in all wars have been the nest of picaroons; so that no way seems left of beginning this war, but as the Dutch began theirs, by leaving off all trade in the nation while it lasts. But the case is very different between them and us; for they have still a trade left from the North, which, running upon a sandy coast from Hamburg, is secured from our fleets; and they have driven a great commerce by collusion with the Swedes, Danes, Hamburghers, Bremeners, and Flemish, ever since the war began. Besides, the hearts of their people (which would otherwise have sunk by the loss of trade) have been kept up by the necessity of their defence, by the last extremities which were threatened them from the war, and by the general opinion of justice in their cause, both from these circumstances, and the manner of ours and of the French beginning the war.

This makes the States content to impose, and the people to suffer, the utmost payments; and besides, in a manner all men of fortunes among them have a great part of their estates lying in the cantores of the States or the Provinces, which would all be lost upon the conquest of their country; so as they will lend to the last, for securing so much as is already in danger. And these are circumstances which will not be found in our dispositions or constitutions.

For supplies from France, it must be considered how their money has been drained out of that kingdom since this war began, by their payments to us, and to

Sweden, to the bishops of Cologne and Munster, and some other princes of Germany; by their armies in Germany, and the new conquests in Holland; all which returns no more into France, as money did in their former wars with Spain, that were made chiefly upon their confines; for then the pays of their armies being made only in the winter-quarters, which were in France or its frontiers, the money fell back again into the circulation of their own country: yet now their expence must upon a Spanish war be increased by new armies in Catalonia and Italy, and new fleets in the Mediterranean; so that all these circumstances, with the general decay of trade by the war, must in few years time leave that kingdom poorer than it has been this age; and, where money is not, the king of France himself cannot have it.

For what supplies may come from the parliament towards carrying on the war, some few days, I suppose, will inform us; and no measures can be taken unless by what passed in the former session, which was not very favourable to that design.

For the credit of the exchequer (at least to any measure that may supply the course or necessities of a war) I fear, it is irrecoverably lost by the last breach with the bankers: for credit is gained by custom and course of time, and seldom recovers a strain; but, if broken, is never well set again. I have heard a great example given of this (by some of our merchants) that happened upon the last king's seizing 200000*l.* that was in the mint about the year 38, which had then the credit of a bank, and for several years had been the treasury of all the vast payments transmitted from Spain to Flanders. But, after this invasion of it, though the king paid back the money within very few months, yet the mint has never since recovered its credit among foreign merchants.

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If the buſineſs of money ſhould happen to go lame upon any or all of theſe feet, then all that will be left to carry on the war is the humour of the nation: and that ſometimes may go farther than any treaſures, if ſpirited by hatred or revenge, by the love of religion or liberty, or the neceſſity of defence: but the good-will of the nation to the preſent war (as it was foreſeen by thoſe who gave the deſperate counſels of beginning it with the proroguing of the parliament, and ſtopping of the exchequer; ſo it) has been ſince but too much experienced by the ſucceſſes have attended it, which will ever depend upon the humours and opinions of thoſe that ſerve, as well as the abilities and conduct of thoſe that command; and not to ſpeak of thoſe incurable jealouſies which have been ſo generally raiſed or infuſed into the people about the firſt deſigns of this war, and ſo much increaſed by the profeſſions or actions, or at leaſt the general reputation, of thoſe who paſs for the chief authors of it: 'tis at leaſt obſervable, that after ſo long hoſtility, and four battles, yet the nation does not ſeem at all to be angry, though that is the firſt thing ſhould be brought about, if we would have men fight.

It is, I doubt, little to be hoped, that a breach with Spain ſhould make us any kinder to the war than we were before; ſince that muſt grow wholly upon occaſion of the French, we having no quarrel there of our own. And our kindneſs to France will ſpirit us as little as our hatred to Spain, at leaſt till their fortunes change, and the balance riſe again on the Spaniſh ſide, which has riſen ſo long and to ſuch a height on the French; for by the courſe of human nature there will ever be a degree of hatred mingled with fear, and of kindneſs with compaſſion.

Upon the ſurvey of theſe proviſions and diſpoſitions, it muſt be concluded neceſſary for his majeſty either to make a peace, or elſe to turn the war directly upon

on such points of honour, justice, and safety, as may engage both the parliament and nation in the support and prosecution of the war. And, to do this, he must at least offer at a peace, and upon terms into which the humour and spirit of the nation will run.

The conjunction now perfected between Holland and Spain seems the happiest thing that could have arrived to his majesty's affairs upon this occasion; for whilst Holland stood alone, in case we had been forced to offer at any measures with them, France might upon the first jealousy have been before us, and slipping one knot might have tied another in three days time. But now the interests of the Empire, Spain, and Lorrain are woven together with those of Holland, it will not be a short and easy work to adjust those of France with the Emperor in the matters of Alsatia, with Spain in Flanders, or the duke of Lorrain in that dutchy; nor is the conjunction between Holland and their allies likely to be broken, unless by the revolutions of war the Dutch come to apprehend a near and greater danger from Spain, in which case they will not fail of returning to their old measures with France.

The first pace, which seems necessary for his majesty to make, is to fall into confidence with Spain as far as possibly he can, by assuring them he resolves upon a neutrality in the war between them and France; that, if he comes to a peace with Holland, he intends it shall pass by their mediation; and, if that be effected, he will employ his own towards the general peace of Christendom, and particularly that between France and Spain.

The next point is to resolve upon the conditions necessary to a peace; the best way to this, is to seek without passion where the justice lies, and the true interests of his majesty's crowns, as it is generally understood by his people, of which the sense of his parliament is the best testimony; for their concurrence will give weight

weight to his demands of peace, or to the ſupport of a war.

Between us and Holland, the points of juſtice muſt be grounded upon the infraction of treaties, and ſo will reach only to the buſineſs of the flag and of Surinam. For the flag, it has been agreed by three ſeveral treaties in the ſame form; but, the articles ſtill referring to former uſe, it remains to diſcuſs and agree particularly what that has been, and to explain the manner and circumſtances of obſerving it. Without this, no peace we can have will ſeem to be made with intentions to keep it long, while the interpretation of that article about the flag, is a ground at pleaſure for opening a war. And this point can only be gained by a ſeparate peace between us and Holland; for if the war ſhould come to end in a general treaty, like that of Munſter, as his majeſty's intereſt would be leſs conſidered in a crowd of ſo many others, and would hardly be ſuffered to obſtruct a general peace; ſo this right of the flag, in particular, would be at leaſt disfavoured, if not oppoſed, by our friends as well as our enemies; that is, by France, Sweden, Denmark, as well as Spain and Holland.

The buſineſs of Surinam is a trifle, and the diſputes upon it aroſe rather from an unkind and jealous humour growing between the nations, than from any difference or difficulty in adjuſting it; ſo as that is not a thing will lie much in the way, being ſoon decided by plain articles upon the ſurrender of the place.

There are two points more wherein the honour and intereſt of the nation is concerned, and ought to be inſiſted upon, ſo far at leaſt as to find a temper in them, though they can hardly be ſaid to be points of juſtice, becauſe they are not regulated by treaties. The firſt is the point of the Eaſt-India trade, wherein we deſire new agreements between us, upon ſuſpicion of what may happen, rather than complain of any breach

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in the old; and though our Eaſt-India company never urged their deſires as a juſt ground for a quarrel, yet a great deal might have been gained in this point from the Dutch, while they depended upon our alliance; and I ſuppoſe may be ſtill, if we fall into it again.

The ſecond is an acknowledgment to his majeſty for the leave of fiſhing upon his coaſts; and though this may not be grounded upon any treaty, yet, if it appear to have been an ancient right on our ſide, and cuſtom on theirs, and not determined or extinguiſhed by any treaty between us, it may with juſtice be inſiſted on; though it will paſs harder with the Dutch than any of the reſt, who will much eaſier be induced to buy off the pretence with a great ſum of money at one or more payments, than acknowledge it by a conſtant tribute.

The laſt thing his majeſty can demand from Holland, is money for the charges of the war. But, unleſs the juſtice or neceſſity of it were agreed on between us, that will have but a weak ground. And if we expect money, it muſt be to purchaſe what is to come, and not to pay for what is paſt; and it is very probable, that if his majeſty ſhould reſolve of a peace with Holland, to enter into a mediation between France and Spain, upon the evident points of juſtice between them, and to join againſt that crown which refuſes the peace, both Spain and Holland would be content to part with their money upon ſuch an agreement. But the meaſure and manner muſt be left to private treaty, and would depend upon the confidence between us.

Whatever, in any of theſe points, or any other, his majeſty ſhall be content to releaſe, ought to be done upon the ſatisfaction he ſhould declare to have received in the advancement of the prince of Orange to the charges of his anceſtors. But for his majeſty to inſiſt upon any further advantages to the prince, than are already devolved upon him, would not only raiſe invincible difficulties in our treaty with the States, but

prejudice

prejudice the prince's affairs among them in a very great meaſure. And the prince, I believe, knows their conſtitution ſo well, as to underſtand it ſo.

If upon good terms in theſe particulars a peace can be effected with Holland, the honour of this crown will certainly be provided for, and the intereſt of it, to a higher degree than could have been gained even without the events of a war; ſince we ſhould be left in peace to enjoy the trade of the world while the houſe of Auſtria and Holland would be engaged in a long war with France; and, whenever they grew weary, his majeſty would have the glory and advantage of mediating the peace.

For the meaſures to be obſerved in all this with France, and the preſerving his majeſty's honour on that ſide: firſt, the humour of the parliament as to this war, and the intereſt of the nation in the trade with Spain, ought to be repreſented to them as difficulties invincible unleſs France can furniſh the charge which the war will coſt, beyond what can be ſpared out of his majeſty's conſtant revenue. Then his majeſty may propoſe to them his deſign of neutrality between them and Spain; which I ſuppoſe was not a point that entered into any agreements againſt Holland. And laſtly, he may deſire their conſent, ſince he cannot proſecute the war, to make his peace with Holland, upon the aſſurance of employing afterwards his mediation between them and Spain, in which the concurrence of his parliament will make him able to effect a peace, as the want of it has made him unable to purſue the war. If France will not conſent either to furniſh us with money ſufficient to carry on the war, nor to our neutrality with Spain, nor peace with Holland, it would then be conſidered, whether France, in the like caſe, would ſuffer ſuch a conjuncture as this to eſcape them upon any ties or treaties between us; or whether indeed any prince or ſtate would do ſo. A conjuncture

whereby the honour and interest of his majesty's crown may be provided for; the trade of the nation raised to a height it has not reached before; the passionate bent and humour of the people pleased, and their jealousies in a great measure allayed; the true balance of Christendom maintained; all the princes and states of it (besides France alone) satisfied; and, in short, by which his majesty may grow again insensibly into the hearts of his people at home, and into the influence upon all affairs of his neighbours abroad.

It is a rude thing which is commonly said, that we may come off from France with as much honour as we came on: but it is a true thing, that he has always the honour of the war, that has the advantage of it; and it is, I doubt, so of a peace too; and that cannot fail us here, provided we make sure of Spain (in case we apprehend our losing of France) to which their dispositions and interests must certainly concur with ours in all points, unless that of Jamaica make an exception.

All the difficulty his majesty can meet with, in this pursuit, will be some want of reputation and trust with the governments of Spain and Holland, which have been foiled of late by the breach of our former alliances, so much, as (they think) against our own interests as well as theirs; for all treaties are grounded upon the common belief that every state will be ever found in their own interests, among which their honour and observance of faith grows to be one very considerable (because, while the minds of men are generally possessed with a belief of God Almighty's concerning himself in affairs here below, the opinion of justice or injustice in a quarrel will never fail of having mighty effect upon the successes of a war:) therefore our reputation cannot any way be so far recovered with our neighbours, as by their finding that his majesty's counsels return into the true interests of his kingdoms;

which

which will make the Spaniards believe our meaſures may be firm with them, upon the ſame reaſon which has ſhaken them with France. Thus much is certain, that whatever means will reſtore, or raiſe the credit of his majeſty's government at home, will do it abroad too: for a king of England, at the head of his parliament and people, and in their hearts and intereſts, can never fail of making what figure he pleaſes in the world, nor of being ſafe and eaſy at home; and may deſpiſe all the deſigns of factious men, who can only make themſelves conſidered by ſeeming to be in the intereſt of the nation, when the court ſeems to be out of it. But, in running on counſels contrary to the general humour and ſpirit of the people, the king indeed may make his miniſters great ſubjects, but they can never make him a great prince.

# MEMOIRS

OF

## What passed in CHRISTENDOM

FROM

## The WAR begun 1672,

TO

## The PEACE concluded 1679.

# The Publiſher to the READER.

## (Prefixed to the firſt edition of theſe Memoirs in 1691.)

READER,

THESE following papers I obtained from a perſon to whom I muſt never reſtore them again; and the author has not, that I know of, enquired after them ſince I had them. I muſt needs confeſs, 'Tis but too plain by the epiſtle, that he intended they ſhould not be publick during his life; but though I have as great reſpect for him, as any man, yet I could not be of his mind in this; I think I ſhould do the world wrong, to conceal any longer a treatiſe of ſo much profit and pleaſure to all that read it; and I hope I ſhall not be thought to do the author any in publiſhing it, ſince the charge of not doing it was not given to me. I think likewiſe that if any of his friends can obtain of him the firſt and third parts of theſe Memoirs that are mentioned in them they will do the publick a great piece of ſervice; and if they ſhould come from the author's laſt hand they may chance to be more correct than theſe, which look as tho' they had never been reviewed by the author, but juſt as they fell from his pen: however, I do not remember to have met with a treatiſe in any language that I underſtand, which in my poor judgment is written with more candor and truth and thorough inſight into the matters it relates, ſtuft with greater variety of ſubjects, digeſted into better order and method, and expreſt with more clearneſs and ſpirit than this is. I have not therefore, as I think there is no need, changed a word in them; but only where things are ſaid in French or Latin, I have thought fit to tranſlate them in another column, or the margin; and if I have not done it ſo well as I ſhould do, I crave the reader's pardon, and in all elſe, do not doubt of his thanks. I ſhall ſay nothing of the author, who will be known by the firſt pages of the book; nor of the time or motive of its writing, which are ſeen by the epiſtle; but only heartily pray to God to give him good health, and a long life, that he may continue, as he has ever been, the ornament of learning and to his country.

To

# To my SON.

*April*, 1683.

I Do not remember ever to have refuſed any thing you have deſired of me; which I take to be a greater compliment to you than to myſelf; ſince for a young man to make none but reaſonable deſires, is yet more extraordinary than for an old man to think them ſo. That which you made me ſome time ſince, and have ſo often renewed, I have at laſt reſolved to comply with, as well as the reſt; and, if I live, will leave you ſome Memoirs of what has paſſed in my public employments, eſpecially thoſe abroad, which reached from the year 1665 to 1678; and run through the moſt important foreign negotiations of the crown, with great connexion of affairs at home during this period, and the revolutions it produced. The confidence of the king my maſter, and of his chief miniſters, as well as that of others abroad, gave me the advantage to diſcern and obſerve the true ſprings and motions of both; which were often miſtaken in court and parliament, and thereby faſtened many ſuſpicions, confidences, applauſes, reproaches upon perſons, and at times where they were very undeſerved. Twenty years of my life I paſſed in public thoughts and buſineſs, from the thirty-ſecond to the fifty-ſecond year of my age; which I take to be the part of a man's life fitteſt to be dedicated to the ſervice of his prince or ſtate, the reſt being uſually too much taken up with his pleaſures or his eaſe. The native love of my country, and its antient legal conſtitutions, would not ſuffer me to enter into any public affairs, till the way was open for the king's happy reſtoration in 1660. And in 1680, you know, I ſent you to acquaint the king with my reſolutions to paſs the remainder of my life like as

good a private ſubject as any he had, but never more to meddle with any public employment. All the reſt of my age before, and ſince that period, I have taken no more notice of what paſſed upon the public ſcene, that an old man uſes to do of what is acted on a theatre, where he gets as eaſy a ſeat as he can, entertains himſelf with what paſſes upon the ſtage, not caring who the actors are, or what the plot, nor whether he goes out before the play be done. Therefore you muſt expect nothing from me out of the compaſs of that time, nor any thing of that itſelf with much application or care, further than of truth. You know how lazy I am in my temper, how uneaſy in my health, how weak my eyes, and how much of my time paſſes in walking or riding, and thereby fencing all I can againſt two cruel diſeaſes that have for ſome time purſued me; ſo that I doubt the ſatisfaction you expect will be chiefly owing to ill health or ill weather, which yet are not like to fail at my age and in our climate. For the reſt, if you find any thing either inſtructing or diverting in what I ſhall write upon this ſubject, you may attribute it wholly to the kindneſs and eſteem I have for you, without which I ſhould not have given myſelf the trouble of ſuch recollections: and as I intend them for your uſe, ſo I deſire no other may be made of them during my life: when that is ended, neither they nor you will be any more in my care; and whatever I leave of this, or any other kind, will be in your diſpoſal. I am the gladder, and it is but juſt, that my public employments ſhould contribute ſomething to your entertainment, ſince they have done ſo little to your fortune, upon which I can make you no excuſes; 'twas a thing ſo often in my power, that it was never in my thoughts; which were turned always upon how much leſs I needed, rather than how much more. If yours have the ſame turn, you will be but too rich; if the contrary, you will be ever poor.

MEMOIRS

# MEMOIRS

## Of what paſſed in

# CHRISTENDOM

## From 1672 to 1679.

### CHAP. I.

HAVING ended the firſt part of theſe Memoirs with my retirement from all public buſineſs in the year 1671, which was ſoon followed by the ſecond Dutch war; I ſhall begin this with the approaches of the peace in the year 1673.

About this time, after two ſummers ſpent in a war between England and Holland, with ſeveral encounters at ſea, but no deciſive action, both parties began to enter upon thoughts, and indeed neceſſities, of a peace. The nations had been at war without being angry; and the quarrel had been thought on both ſides rather of the miniſtries than the people. The Dutch believed it at firſt intended only againſt De Witt's faction, in favour of the prince of Orange; and in England ſome laid it to the corruption of miniſters by the money of France; and ſome, that pretended to think deeper, laid it to deeper deſigns. The lord Clifford's violence, in beginning it, gave it an ill air in general; and the diſ-

uſe of parliaments, a cruel maim in the chief ſinews of war.

The ſubſidies from France bore no proportion to the charge of our fleets, and our ſtrength at ſea ſeemed rather leſſened than increaſed by the conjunction of theirs: Our ſeamen fought without heart, and were more afraid of their friends than their enemies; and our diſcontents were ſo great at land, that the aſſembling of our militia to defend our coaſts was thought as dangerous as an invaſion. But that, which moſt preſſed his majeſty to the thoughts of a peace, was the reſolution of Spain to declare war againſt England, as they had done already againſt France, in favour of Holland, unleſs the peace were ſuddenly made; which would have been ſuch a blow to our trade, as could not eaſily have been fenced, and loſt us that of the Mediterranean, as the Dutch war had done that of the Northern ſeas: ſo as the neceſſity of this conjuncture was only kept off by the honour of our alliance with France. However, that crown being not able to furniſh ſupplies enough to carry on the war without a parliament, could not oppoſe the calling one upon this occaſion. When the parliament met, though they ſeemed willing to give the king money, yet it was to make the peace with Holland, and not to carry on the war; and, upon his majeſty's demanding their advice, they gave it unanimouſly, that the peace ſhould be made.

There were too many parties engaged in this quarrel to think of a general peace, though a treaty to that purpoſe had been ſet on foot at Cologne, under the mediation of the Swedes, between the miniſters of the Emperor, Spain, Holland, and ſome princes of the Empire on the one part, and his majeſty and France on the other, but without any the leaſt appearance of ſucceſs; for though all the confederates had a mind to the peace between England and Holland, yet none of

of them desired it with France. This made both the Dutch and the Spaniards set on foot all the engines they could, to engage his majesty in some treaty of a separate peace; to which the necessity of his affairs, the humour of his people, and the instances of his parliament, at last determined him, towards the end of the year 1673.

Upon the first meeting of the parliament, the duke of Buckingham, to ingratiate himself with the house of commons (whose ill humour began to appear against those they esteemed the chief authors of the war) had desired leave of that house, that he might be heard there in his own defence upon that subject. In his speech, among many endeavours to throw the odium of the war from himself upon my lord Arlington, he desired that lord might be asked, who was the author of the triple alliance? as if he understood himself to be so. The lord Arlington coming afterwards upon the like desire into the same house of commons, and answering some parts of the duke's speech; when he came to that particular, he told them he could easily answer that question of the duke's, by telling them that the author of that alliance was Sir William Temple. This, I suppose, gave the occasion for reflexions upon what had passed in the course of my former embassies in Holland and at Aix; and his majesty, and his ministers, the resolution to send for me out of my private retreat, where I had passed two years (as I intended to do the rest of my life) and to engage me in going over into Holland, to make the separate peace with that State.

Upon the 2d of February 1673-4, his majesty received the certain advice of the States having passed a resolution, that the charges and dignities possessed by the prince of Orange, and his ancestors, should become hereditary to his children: and at the same time he also received a letter from the States, with the desire

of paſſports for the ambaſſadors, whom they reſolved to ſend to his majeſty with inſtructions and powers to treat and conclude a peace; and in the mean time they offered a ſuſpenſion of arms. This offer coming upon the neck of the parliament's advice to his majeſty to enter into treaty with the Spaniſh ambaſſador upon the propoſitions he had advanced, and which the king had ordered to be ſent to the parliament, it was not believed by the miniſters that a treaty could be refuſed, without drawing too much odium upon themſelves, and reflexion upon the government: on the other ſide, it was ſuſpected what practices might be ſet on foot by Dutch ambaſſadors, upon the general diſcontent reigning againſt the preſent war. Therefore, that very afternoon, a reſolution was taken at the private junto, to ſend rather, than to receive, an embaſſy upon this ſubject; and that I ſhould be the perſon employed. Two gentlemen were ſent to my houſe within half an hour of one another, from the earl of Danby then lord treaſurer, and the earl of Arlington firſt ſecretary of ſtate, to order my attendance upon his majeſty. My lord Arlington told me, he would not pretend the merit of having named me upon this occaſion, nor could he well tell whether the king or lord treaſurer did it firſt; but that the whole committee had joined in it: and concluded, that ſince the peace was to be made, there was no other perſon to be thought of for it, and accordingly the king gave me his commands, with many expreſſions of kindneſs and confidence, to prepare for my journey; and the ſecretary to draw up my inſtructions. I told the king I would obey him, and with a great deal of pleaſure to ſee his majeſty returning to the meaſures upon which I had formerly ſerved him; but, that I might do it the better, I begged of him that I might go over without the character of ambaſſador, which would delay or embarraſs me with preparations of equipage, and with ceremonies

ceremonies there, that were unneceſſary to ſo ſudden a diſpatch. His majeſty thought what I ſaid very pertinent, and ſo ordered that I ſhould go only as plenipotentiary; but that I ſhould have in all kinds the appointment of ambaſſador, and that I ſhould take upon me the character too when the peace was concluded.

Within three days I was ready; and, the morning my diſpatches were ſo too, the marquis of Frezno, Spaniſh ambaſſador, ſent my lord Arlington word (while I was with him) that he had received full power from the States to treat and conclude a peace, and was ready to enter upon it whenever his majeſty pleaſed. My lord Arlington, ſurpriſed, was at firſt of opinion the king ſhould go on in his own way, and I my journey, and give the Spaniards no part in the affair: I was of another mind, and that beſides the point of honour, which was clear in having the peace made rather at London than the Hague, I thought that of intereſt might be the better purſued when we were ſought to by the States, than when we ſought to them: beſides, I believed the Spaniard would play us fair in a game that he thought ſo much his own, and not ſuffer the Dutch to ſtop at any ſmall points, eſpecially thoſe of honour; whereas that of the flag (though ſuch) was one his majeſty ought to lay moſt to heart. My lord Arlington, after ſome debate, agreed with me, and deſired me to go immediately and acquaint the king with this new and unexpected incident, who was then at the houſe of lords. The king ſeemed pleaſed with the change, and told me, that, ſince I did not treat it at the Hague, I ſhould however at London; and bid me go and acquaint the marquis of Frezno with his reſolution, that, if he and I could agree upon the terms, the thing ſhould ſoon be done.

The terms to be inſiſted on were ſoon agreed by his majeſty

majeſty at the foreign committee, which was compoſed of the lord chancellor Finch, the lord treaſurer, the lord Arlington and Mr. Henry Coventry ſecretaries of ſtate, with whom his majeſty ordered my attendance upon this affair. When I was inſtructed of his majeſty's pleaſure, I went to the marquis of Frezno, and at three meetings I concluded the whole treaty, with ſatisfaction to his majeſty, and tranſport to the marquis, upon ſo great an honour as he thought it to himſelf, and the fortunes he expected upon it from his maſter. The articles, being public, need no place here. The two points of greateſt difficulty were that of the flag, and the recalling all Engliſh troops out of the French ſervice. This laſt was compoſed by private engagements to ſuffer thoſe that were there to wear out without any recruits, and to permit no new ones to go over; but at the ſame time to give leave for ſuch levies as the State ſhould think fit to make in his majeſty's dominions, both of Engliſh and Scots regiments. The other of the flag was carried to all the height his majeſty could wiſh; and thereby a claim of the crown, the acknowledgment of its dominion in the narrow ſeas, allowed by treaty from the moſt powerful of our neighbours at ſea, which had never yet been yielded to by the weakeſt of them, that I remember, in the whole courſe of our pretence; and had ſerved hitherto but for an occaſion of quarrel, whenever we or they had a mind to it, upon other reaſons or conjectures. Nothing, I confeſs, had ever given me a greater pleaſure, in the greateſt public affairs I had run through, than this ſucceſs; as having been a point I ever had at heart, and in my endeavours to gain upon my firſt negotiations in Holland; but found monſieur de Witt ever inflexible, though he agreed with me that it would be a rock upon which our firmeſt alliances would be in danger to ſtrike and

to

to ſplit, whenever other circumſtances fell in to make either of the parties content to alter the meaſures we had entered into upon the triple alliance. The ſum of money given his majeſty by the States, though it was not conſiderable in itſelf, and leſs to the king, by the greateſt part of it being applied to the prince of Orange's ſatisfaction for his mother's portion that had never been paid; yet it gave the king the whole honour of the peace, as the ſum given by the parliament upon it and the general ſatisfaction of his people made the eaſe of it. And thus happily ended our part of a war ſo fatal to the reſt of Chriſtendom in the conſequences of it, which no man perhaps now alive will ſee the end of; and had been begun and carried on as far as it would go, under the miniſtry of five men who were uſually called the *Cabal*, a word unluckily falling out of the five firſt letters of their names, that is, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Aſhley, and Lauderdale. But though the counſels and conduct of theſe men had begun the war with two unuſual ſtrains to the honour of the crown, in the attack of the Smyrna fleet, and ſtopping of the Bank; yet it muſt be allowed them to have ſucceeded well in the honours they propoſed to themſelves: Clifford having gained by it the place of high treaſurer, and title of a baron; Aſhley the chancellor's place, and an earldom; Arlington an earldom with the garter, and Lauderdale a dukedom with the garter. The duke of Buckingham, being already poſſeſſed of all the honours the crown could give of that kind, contented himſelf to make no better a bargain in this matter than he uſed to do in all others that concerned him; and ſo pretended no further than commands in the army. And thus, inſtead of making ſo great a king, as they pretended by this Dutch war and French alliance, they had the honour of making only four great ſubjects.

After the peace was made, his majeſty's firſt care was

was to ſoften the ſtroke as much as he could towards France; which was done by repreſenting the neceſſities of it (that needed no falſe colours) and at the ſame time to offer his mediation between the parties remaining ſtill in the war, in caſe France either deſired or accepted it; which took up ſome time to determine. In the mean while I continued in the poſture and thoughts of the private man I was before this revolution, till about a week after the whole concluſion of it, when my lord Arlington told me how kindly the king took of me both the readineſs I had expreſſed to go over into Holland, and the eaſineſs I ſhewed upon the failing of that commiſſion, as well as the pains and ſucceſs in the treaty with the Spaniſh ambaſſador; and, not knowing any thing better he had to give me, he was reſolved to ſend me ambaſſador extraordinary into Spain; and to that purpoſe immediately to recall Sir William Godolphin, the ordinary ambaſſador there, for many reaſons that, he ſaid, made it neceſſary in this conjuncture.

I acknowledged the honour his majeſty intended me, but deſired time to give my anſwer till I had conſulted my father upon it, who was then in Ireland, but in the intention of coming ſuddenly over; however, in a month I undertook to reſolve. My lord Arlington told me he did not expect any demur upon ſuch an offer, which he took to be of the beſt employment the king had to give, and therefore he had already acquainted the Spaniſh ambaſſador with it, who received it with great joy, and reſolved immediately to give part of it to the court of Madrid; which he was ſure was already done, and therefore he would reckon upon it as a thing concluded; though, for the good grace of it to my father, he undertook the king would give me the time I aſked to reſolve. When I writ to my father upon this ſubject, he was ſo violent againſt my charging myſelf with this embaſſy, that I could not

not find any temper to satisfy him, and upon it was forced to make my excuses to the king. When I did so his majesty was pleased to assure me he did not at all take it ill of me, and that, on the contrary, he intended me a better employment: that he was at present engaged for the secretary's place, upon my lord Arlington's removal to chamberlain; but that he resolved the next removal should be to make room for me. This I told my lord Arlington; who presently said, that he believed I could not refuse the Spanish embassy, but upon design of the secretary's place; and since I desired it, and the king fell into it of himself, he would play the easiest part in it that he could. He was indeed agreed with Sir Joseph Williamson for 6000*l.* and the king had consented that he should enter upon it at his return from Cologne, which was every day expected; but yet he made such a difference between the persons, that he would find some way to avoid it in case I would lay down the 6000*l.* I assured his lordship I had no such design, nor such a sum of money to lay down while my father enjoyed the estate of the family: that, if I had, I should be very unwilling to pursue it so far as to give his lordship any strain in a matter already promised and concluded: and therefore desired him to think no further of it. But he was not of opinion I could stick at any thing but the money, and acquainted Mr. Montague and Mr. Sidney, who were friends to us both, with this transaction, and set them upon me to bring it to an issue before the other came over: they both endeavoured it with great instances, and Mr. Montague was so kind as to offer to lend me the money, but I was positive in refusing it; yet at the same time I told my lord Arlington, that, not to seem humorous in declining the offers he had made me from the king or from himself, I was content they should both know, that, if his majesty had occasion to send an embassy into Holland upon the peace, I would

would very willingly ſerve him there, where I knew the ſcene ſo well. So that matter ſlept for the preſent.

In the mean while France had thought fit to accept and approve the king's offer of mediation, that of Sweden being ended by the aſſembly at Cologne breaking up in expoſtulations and quarrels upon the emperor's ſeizing the perſon of prince William of Furſtemburg, a ſubject of the Empire, but an inſtrument of France, as his brother the biſhop of Straſburg, had been in all the late deſigns and invaſions of that crown upon their neighbours. The king told me, that being reſolved to offer his mediation to all the confederates, as he had done already to France, and finding I had no mind to engage in either of theſe employments which had of late been offered me, he was reſolved to ſend me ambaſſador-extraordinary into Holland, to offer his mediation there, as the ſcene of the confederates common counſels, and by their means to endeavour the acceptance of it by the reſt of the princes concerned in the war: that I knew the place and perſons better than any man, and could do him more ſervice, both in this, and continuing all good correſpondency between him and the States, which he was reſolved to preſerve: that I ſhould have the character of ambaſſador-extraordinary, and the ſame allowance I ſhould have had in Spain. Upon this offer I made no demur, but immediately accepted it, and ſo my embaſſy was declared in May 1674.

But, to make way to my entering upon this great ſcene, it will be neceſſary to deduce, in ſhort, the courſe of affairs abroad, from the firſt period of the preſent war, to this ſecond of his majeſty's ſeparate peace with Holland, and the ſeveral diſpoſitions among the parties that were likely to facilitate, or to croſs, the deſign of the king's intended mediation.

No

No clap of thunder in a fair frosty day could more astonish the world, than our declaration of war against Holland in 1672, first by matter of fact, in falling upon their Smyrna fleet; and in consequence of that (however it failed) by a formal declaration, in which we gave reasons for our quarrel, while France contented themselves to give no other for their part of it, than only the glory of that king. The Dutch could never be possessed with a belief that we were in earnest till the blow was given; but thought our unkindness and expostulations of late, would end at last either in demands of money, or the prince of Orange's restitution to the authority of his ancestors. The princes concerned in their safety could not believe, that after having saved Flanders out of the hands of France, we would suffer Holland to fall into the same danger; and my lord Arlington told me at that time, that the court of France did not believe it themselves till the blow was struck in the attack of the Smyrna fleet; but then they immediately set out their declaration, and began their invasion. This surprise made way for their prodigious successes. The Dutch had made no provision for their defence either at home or abroad; and the Empire, Spain, and Sweden stood at a gaze upon the opening of the war, not knowing upon what concerts between us and France it was begun, nor how far we would suffer it to go on upon the French conquests. Besides, the animosities of the parties in Holland, long suppressed under the new constitution and De Witt's ministry, began to flame again upon this misfortune of their State. The prince's friends talked loud and boldly, that there was no way to satisfy England, but restoring the prince; and that the baseness and cowardice of their troops were the effects of turning out all officers of worth and bravery for their inclinations to the prince, and mean fellows brought in, for no other desert than their enmity declared

clared to the houſe of Orange. Upon this all men expected a ſudden change; the States were in diſorder, and irreſolute what to do; the troops were without a general, and, which is worſe, without heart; and though De Ruiter, by admirable conduct, kept the infection of theſe evils out of his fleet, which was our part to deal with; yet faction, diſtruſt, ſedition and diſtraction made ſuch entrances upon the State and the army, when the French troops firſt invaded them, that of all the towns and fortreſſes on the German ſide (held impregnable in all their former wars) not one beſides Maeſtricht made any ſhew of reſiſtance, and the French became immediately maſters of all the inland parts of the provinces, in as little time as travellers uſually employ to ſee and conſider them. Maeſtricht was taken after a ſhort ſiege, as Schenck-ſconce, by the help of an extreme dry ſeaſon that made rivers fordable where they had never been eſteemed ſo before. The king of France marched as far as Utrecht, where he fixed his camp and his court, and from thence began to conſider of the ways how to poſſeſs himſelf of the reſt, that was defended only by their ſituation upon ſome flat lands, which, as they had, by infinite labour in canals and digues, been either gained or preſerved from inundations, ſo they were ſubject to them upon opening the ſluices, whenever the Dutch found no other way of ſaving their country but by loſing it. This, at leaſt, was generally believed in the French camp and court, and, as I have heard, was the preſervation of the State; for that king, unwilling to venture the honour and advantage of ſuch conqueſts as he had made that ſummer, upon the hazards of a new ſort of war with a mercileſs element, where neither conduct nor courage were of uſe, reſolved to leave the reſt to practices of peace with the States, upon the advantage of the terms he ſtood in, and the ſmall diſtance of place between them; or, if theſe ſhould not ſucceed,

ceed, then he truſted to the froſts of the following winter which ſeldom fail in that country to make all paſſable and ſafe for troops and carriages themſelves, that in ſummer would be impaſſable, either from the waters, or the depth of ſoil.

In the mean time, the State and the government of Holland took a new form, and with it a new heart. Monſieur De Witt and his brother had been maſſacred by the ſudden fury of the people at the Hague, and by the fate of miniſters that govern by a party or faction, who are uſually ſacrificed to the firſt great misfortunes abroad that fall in to aggravate or inflame the general diſcontents at home. The fact and the manner having been very unuſual, may be the ſubject of others inquiry, as it was of mine, which gave me this account: The Ruart of Putten, eldeſt brother to monſieur De Witt, had been accuſed of a deſign upon the prince's life, and of endeavouring by money to engage one of h,s highneſs's domeſtics in that attempt; but no other witneſs appearing, he was ſentenced only to be baniſhed; at which the people ſhewed great diſſatisfaction, being poſſeſſed with an opinion of his guilt. The morning he was to come out of priſon, monſieur De Witt (againſt the opinion of his friends) would needs go himſelf to bring him out with more honour, and carry him out of town; and to that purpoſe went with his coach and four horſes to the court. This being not uſual to this miniſter, made the people take more notice of it, and gather together tumultuouſly, firſt in the ſtreets where he paſſed, and then about the court where the priſoner was kept. Some of the trained-bands of the Hague that were upon the guard mingled among them, and began to rail aloud againſt the judgment of the court, the crime of one brother, and the inſolence of the other, who pretended (as they ſaid) to carry him away in triumph. In the midſt of this heat and paſſion, raiſed by theſe kind of

diſcourſes among the populace, the two brothers came out; ſome of the trained-bands ſtopped them, began to treat them at firſt with ill language, and from words fell to blows; upon which monſieur De Witt, foreſeeing how the tragedy would end, took his brother by the hand, and was at the ſame time knocked down with the but-end of a muſket. They were both preſently laid dead upon the place, then dragged about the town by the fury of the people, and torn in pieces. Thus ended one of the greateſt lives of any ſubject in our age, about the 47th year of his own; after having ſerved, or rather adminiſtred, that State, as Penſioner of Holland, for about eighteen years, with great honour to his country and himſelf. After the death of theſe brothers, the provinces and towns ran with unanimous voices into public demands of the prince's being reſtored to the authority of his anceſtors. The States had, in the beginning of the year, declared him captain-general and admiral of their forces, which was no more than De Witt had always profeſſed was deſigned for him when he ſhould be of age; but this was found neither to have ſatisfied England, nor the prince's party at home; and therefore all the members of the State agreed in thoſe acts that were thought neceſſary to a full reſtitution of his highneſs, now at the age of twenty-one years, to the office and power of Stadtholder, with all advantages, and even ſome more than thoſe which had been exerciſed by his anceſtors. At the ſame time monſieur Fagel was introduced into monſieur De Witt's place, of Penſioner of Holland, whoſe love to his country made him a lover of the prince, as believing it could not be ſaved by any other hand, and whoſe zeal to his own religion made him an enemy irreconcileable to France, whoſe profeſſions as well as deſigns were to deſtroy it.

This revolution as it calmed all at home, ſo it made the firſt appearance of defending what was left of

of the country: the State grew united, the army in heart, and foreign princes began to take confidence in the honour and conſtancy of the young prince, which they had in a manner wholly loſt upon the diviſions and misfortunes of the State. The French themſelves turned all their applications and practices the ſame way, and made the prince all the offers that could be of honour and advantages to his perſon and family, provided he would be contented to depend upon them. The bait they thought could not fail of being ſwallowed, and about which moſt artifice was employed, was the propoſal of making the prince ſovereign of the provinces, under the protection of England and France. And, to ſay truth, at a time when ſo little of the provinces was left, and what remained was under water, and in ſo imminent danger upon the firſt froſts of the winter; this ſeemed a lure to which a meaner ſoul than that of this prince might very well ſtoop. But his was above it, and his anſwers always firm, that he never would betray a truſt that was given him, nor ever ſell the liberties of his country that his anceſtors had ſo long defended. Yet the game he played was then thought ſo deſperate, that one of his neareſt ſervants told me he had long expoſtulated it with his maſter; and aſked him at laſt, how he pretended to live after Holland was loſt? and whether he had thought ſo far? The prince told him he had; and that he was reſolved to live upon the lands he had left in Germany; and that he had rather paſs his life in hunting there, than ſell his country or his liberty to France at any price. I will ſay nothing of the embaſſy ſent at this time by his majeſty to the French king at Utrecht, where the three ambaſſadors, duke of Buckingham, lord Arlington, and lord Hallifax, found him in his higheſt exaltation, for I cannot pretend to know what the true ends or ſubject of it was. The common belief in England and Holland made it to be our jealouſy

of the French conqueſts going ſo faſt, whilſt ours were ſo lame; and great hopes were raiſed in Holland, that it was to ſtop their courſe or extent; but theſe were ſoon daſhed by the return of the ambaſſadors, after having renewed and faſtened the meaſures formerly taken between the two crowns. And the ambaſſadors were indeed content, as they paſſed through Holland, that the firſt ſhould be thought; which gave occaſion for a very good repartee of the princeſs dowager to the duke of Buckingham, who viſited her as they paſſed through the Hague; and talking much of their being good Hollanders, ſhe told him, that was more than they aſked, which was only that they ſhould be good Engliſhmen; he aſſured her they were not only ſo, but good Dutchmen too; that indeed they did not uſe Holland like a miſtreſs, but they loved her like a wife: to which ſhe replied *Vrayment, je croy que vous nous aimez comme vous aimez la vôtre*; [*Truly, I believe you love us as you love your own wife.*]

When France had loſt all hopes of ſhaking the prince of Orange's conſtancy, they bent all their thoughts upon ſubduing and ruining the remainder of the country. They had advanced as far as Woerden, and from thence they made their ravages within two or three leagues of Leyden, with more violences and cruelties than would have been prudent, if they had hoped to reclaim the prince or States from the obſtinacy of their defence. The prince incamped his army near Bodegrave, between Leyden and Woerden, and there made ſuch a ſtand with a handful of men, as the French could never force. The winter proved not favourable to their hopes and deſigns, and ſome promiſes of froſt inveigled them into marches that proved almoſt fatal to them by a ſudden thaw. This frighted them into cautions, perhaps more than were neceſſary, and gave the prince and States leiſure to take their meaſures for a following campaign, with the em-

peror, Spain, and the dukes of Brandenburgh and Lunenburgh, which proved a diverſion to the arms of France, and turned part of them upon Germany and Flanders, ſo as to give over the progreſs any further in Holland. Upon the approach of the winter, the prince, after having taken Naerden, three leagues from Amſterdam, in ſpite of all reſiſtance and oppoſition from either the French or the ſeaſon, reſolved, like another young Scipio, to ſave his country by abandoning it: and to avoid ſo many ſieges, as all the towns they had loſt would coſt to recover; he contented himſelf to leave the chief poſts guarded with a part of the army, and with the reſt marched into Germany, joined part of the confederate troops, beſieged Bonne, which had been put into the hands of France at the beginning of the war, wherein the elector of Cologne and the biſhop of Munſter had entered jointly with France. The boldneſs of this action amazed all men, but the ſucceſs extolled the prudence as well as the bravery of it; for the prince took Bonne, and by it opened a paſſage for the German forces over the Rhine, and ſo into Flanders; and gave ſuch a damp to the deſigns and enterpriſes of France, that they immediately abandoned all their conqueſts upon Holland in leſs time than they made them, retaining only Maeſtricht and the Grave of all they had poſſeſſed belonging to this State.

In this poſture ſtood affairs abroad when the peace of England was made in February 1673-4; upon the ſtrength and heart whereof the prince of Orange concerted with the German and Spaniſh troops to begin an offenſive war, and, at the head of an army of above forty thouſand men, to march into France.

The French began now to wiſh the war well ended, and were very glad to accept his majeſty's mediation. The king was deſirous to make France ſome amends for abandoning the party, and making a ſeparate peace. Some of his miniſters foreſaw he would be arbiter of

the peace by being mediator, and that he might hinder any ſeparate treaties by mediating a general one, and might reſtore peace to Chriſtendom whenever he thought fit, and upon what conditions he thought ſafe and juſt.

The only difficulties that appeared in this affair, were what the confederates were like to make in accepting the king's mediation, whoſe late engagements with France had made him thought very partial on that ſide. And the houſe of Auſtria, finding that crown now abandoned by England, had too greedily ſwallowed the hopes of a revenge upon them, to deſire any ſudden treaty, till the ſucceſſes they expected in the war might at leaſt make way for reducing France to the terms of that of the Pyrenees. This, I ſuppoſe, gave ſome occaſion for my being again deſigned for this embaſſy, being thought to have ſome credit with Spain as well as Holland, from the negotiations I had formerly run through at the Hague, Bruſſels, and Aix la Chapelle, by which the remaining parts of Flanders had been ſaved out of the hands of France in the year 1668.

But having often reflected upon the unhappy iſſue of my laſt public employments, and the fatal turn of counſels in our court that had occaſioned it againſt ſo many wiſer men's opinions, as well as my own; I reſolved, before I went this journey, to know the ground upon which I ſtood, as well as I could, and to ſound it, by finding out what I was able of the king's true ſentiments and diſpoſitions, as to the meaſures he had now taken, or rather renewed, and truſt no more to thoſe of his miniſters, who had deceived either me or themſelves. Therefore, at a long audience in his cloſet, I took occaſion to reflect upon the late counſels, and miniſtry of the late cabal; how ill his majeſty had been adviſed to break meaſures and treaties ſolemnly taken and agreed; how ill he had been ſerved, and

and how ill ſucceeded, by the violent humour of the nation breaking out againſt ſuch proceedings, and by the jealouſies they had raiſed againſt the crown. The king ſaid, 'Twas true, he had ſucceeded ill; but, if he had been well ſerved, he might have made a good buſineſs enough of it; and ſo went on a good deal to juſtify what was paſt. I was ſorry to find ſuch a preſage of what might again return from ſuch a courſe of thought in the king, and ſo went to the bottom of that matter. I ſhewed how difficult, if not impoſſible, it was, to ſet up here the ſame religion or government that was in France; that the univerſal bent of the nation was againſt both; that many, who were perhaps indifferent enough in the matter of religion, conſidered it could not be changed here but by force of an army; and that the ſame force, which made the king maſter of their religion, made him maſter of their liberties and fortunes too: that in France there was none to be conſidered but the nobles and the clergy; that, if a king could engage them in his deſigns, he had no more to do; for the peaſants, having no land, were as inſignificant in the government as the women and children are here: that, on the contrary, the great bulk of land in England lies in the hands of the yeomanry or lower gentry, and their hearts are high by eaſe and plenty, as thoſe of the French peaſantry are wholly diſpirited by labour and want; that the kings of France are very great in poſſeſſions of lands, and in dependences by ſuch vaſt numbers of offices both military and civil, as well as eccleſiaſtical; whereas thoſe of England, having few offices to beſtow, having parted with their lands, their court of wards and knights ſervices, have no means to raiſe or keep armies on foot, but by ſupplies from their parliaments, nor revenues to maintain any foreign war by other ways: that if they had an army on foot, yet, if compoſed of Engliſh, they would never ſerve

ends that the people hated and feared: that the Roman catholics in England were not the hundreth part of the nation, and in Scotland not the two hundredth; and it ſeemed againſt all common ſenſe, to think by one part to govern ninety-nine that were of contrary minds and humours: that for foreign troops, if they were few, they would ſignify nothing but to raiſe hatred and diſcontent; and how to raiſe, to bring over at once, and to maintain many, was very hard to imagine: that the force, ſeeming neceſſary to ſubdue the liberties and ſpirits of this nation, could not be eſteemed leſs than an army of threeſcore thouſand men, ſince the Romans were forced to keep twelve legions to that purpoſe, the Normans to inſtitute ſixty-two thouſand knights fees, and Cromwell left an army of near eighty thouſand men: that I never knew but one foreigner that underſtood England well, which was Gourville (whom I knew the king eſteemed the ſoundeſt head of any Frenchman he had ever ſeen) that when I was at Bruſſels in the firſt Dutch war, and he heard the parliament grew weary of it, he ſaid, the king had nothing to do but to make the peace: that he had been long enough in England, ſeen enough of our court, and people, and parliaments, to conclude,

*Qu'un Roy d'Angleterre, qui veut être l'homme de ſon peuple, eſt le plus grand Roy du monde; mais s'il veut être quelque choſe davantage, par Dieu il n'eſt plus rien.*

The king heard me very attentively, but ſeemed a little impatient at firſt: yet at laſt he ſaid, I had reaſon in all, and ſo had Gourville; and, laying his hand

"That a king of England, who will be the man of his peo-
"ple, is the greateſt king in the world; but if he will be ſome-
"thing more, by G—d he is nothing at all."

upon

upon mine, he added, *Et je veux être l'homme de mon peuple* [*And I will be the man of my people.*]

My embaſſy extraordinary to Holland was declared in May, and my diſpatches finiſhed at the Treaſury as well as the Secretary's office, ſo as I went away in July. My inſtructions were, in general, to aſſure the State of his majeſty's friendſhip and firm reſolution to obſerve his treaties with them; then to offer his mediation in the preſent war, which both they and almoſt all Chriſtendom, were engaged in; and, after their acceptance of it, to endeavour it likewiſe with all their allies; and, to that end, to engage the offices and intervention of the States. But, immediately after my arrival at the Hague, to repair to the prince of Orange, give him part of his majeſty's intentions in all this affair, and aſſurance of his kindneſs, and engage his highneſs as far as could be, to ſecond his majeſty's deſires in promoting a general peace, wherein the United Provinces ſeemed to have the greateſt intereſt.

After my arrival at the Hague in July 1674, and delivery of my credentials to the Preſident of the week, and a viſit to the Penſioner, wherein I diſcovered a ſtrong inclination in the States to a peace as far as their honour and engagements to their allies would allow them, and was aſſured of the States accepting his majeſty's mediation; I went away to Antwerp, in hopes to have found the prince at his camp there, between Antwerp and Louvain, where he had lain ſome time attending the advance of the confederate troops, with whom he had concerted to join his army upon their arrival in Flanders. But two days before I came to Antwerp, the army was marched beyond Louvain; ſo I was forced to go to Bruſſels, and there deſire a guard to convoy me to the camp. The punctilio's of my character would not ſuffer me to ſee the count de Monterey, though I had for ſome years lived at Bruſſels in particular friendſhip and converſation with him. Few

ſtrangers

ſtrangers had perhaps ever been better uſed than I, during three years reſidence at Bruſſels, by all perſons of quality, and indeed of all ranks there; ſo that it was very ſurpriſing to me to meet ſuch a dry and cold treatment from the Governor, and ſuch an affectation in the perſons of quality, not ſo much as to viſit me; for I do not remember one that did it beſides count D'Emont, who was not then very well at court, either in Spain or Flanders. Others that I met in the ſtreets, or the park, though they came up with open arms to embrace me, yet never came at me, but contented themſelves with ſaying they intended it. When I ſent my ſecretary to the count de Monterey with my compliments, and deſires of a guard to the prince of Orange, who was then not above ſix leagues off; he returned the firſt very coldly, and the other with excuſes that amounted to a refuſal; he ſaid, the way was ſo dangerous, by ſtraggling parties of the army, that he could not adviſe me to venture with a ſmall guard; and he had drawn out ſo many of the Spaniſh troops into the field, that he could not give me a great one. I ſent again to deſire what he could ſpare me, let the number be what it would; for though I would not expoſe the king's character nor his buſineſs, by any accident I might prevent; yet, when I had endeavoured it by my application to his excellence, I would take my fortune, though he ſent me but ſix of his guards. He replied, that he could not poſſibly ſpare any of them; but that next morning he expected a troop of horſe to come into town, and that, as ſoon as it arrived, the captain ſhould have order to attend me. Next morning was put off till night, and night till the morning following; when the count, finding I was reſolved to go, though without convoy, rather than to expect longer, ſent me a Spaniſh captain with about forty horſe to convoy me to Louvain. The truth was, that the Spaniards were grown ſo jealous of his

majeſty's

majeſty's mediation offered at the Hague, of the States and people's violent humour to a peace in Holland, and of the offices they thought I might uſe, to ſlacken the prince of Orange in the vigorous proſecution of their preſent hopes and deſigns, that I found it was reſolved to delay firſt, and then to hinder abſolutely any interview between the prince and me till the campaign was ended, but to do it with as little ill grace as they could. To this purpoſe Du Moulin (then one of the prince's ſecretaries, and an inveterate enemy againſt the court of England) was diſpatched between the camp and Bruſſels, whilſt I lay there, and with guards, whereof half would have ſerved my turn, or at leaſt contented me.

When I came to Louvain, I found the prince was marched towards Tirlemont, but could not learn where his next halt was deſigned. The Spaniſh captain told me, he had order to go no further than Louvain: ſo that I neither knew whither to go, nor could go any way without a guard, as they aſſured me at Louvain. Whereupon I ſent immediately Mr. Bulſtrode, who had come with me from Bruſſels, to endeavour to find out the prince, and deſire him to appoint what time and place I ſhould attend his highneſs, which I reſolved to do with thoſe few ſervants I had brought with me, and ſuch others as I could hire at Louvain, where I lay that night.

The next morning Mr. Bulſtrode returned with the prince's anſwer, that he was upon his march; that he ſhould be very glad to ſee me, but could not poſſibly appoint either time or place for it, becauſe his motions were uncertain, and would depend upon the advices he received. By which I found plainly what I had ſuſpected at Bruſſels, that it was reſolved I ſhould not ſee the prince before this campaign was begun by the actions then concerted among the confederates. I would not, however, ſeem to underſtand it ſo, nor any

any thing more in it than what his highneſs was pleaſed to ſay; but I knew very well, that as they ſay none is more deaf than he that will not hear, ſo a man that will not be ſeen, may eaſily find ways of avoiding it, eſpecially upon ſuch circumſtances as the prince and I were then in, who muſt have followed the motions he would have given me: and therefore I reſolved not to expoſe either his majeſty's character or credit, with his nephew, by making that public which had paſſed between the prince and me upon this ſubject; but, pretending my health would not ſuffer me to follow the prince upon his march, I returned to Antwerp, and gave his majeſty an account of all that had paſſed; who extremely approved my conduct in it, and that I preſſed no further a point that I ſaw would not go, and that was taken by the prince, as well as the count de Monterey, ſo differently from what his majeſty expected.

I ſtaid only a night at Antwerp, which paſſed with ſo great thunder and lightning, that I promiſed myſelf a very fair day after it, to go back to Rotterdam in the States yacht that ſtill attended me. The morning proved ſo; but towards evening the ſky grew foul, and the ſeamen preſaged ill weather, and ſo reſolved to lie at anchor before Bergen-op-Zoom, the wind being croſs and little. When the night was fallen as black as ever I ſaw it, it ſoon began to clear up with the moſt violent flaſhes of lightning, as well as cracks of thunder, that I believe have ever been heard in our age and climate. This continued all night, and we felt ſuch a fierce heat from every great flaſh of lightning, that the captain apprehended it would fire his ſhip. But about eight the next morning the wind changed, and came up with ſo ſtrong a gale, that we came to Rotterdam in about four hours, and there found all mouths full of the miſchiefs and accidents that the laſt night's tempeſt had occaſioned, both among the boats and the houſes,

houſes, by the thunder, lightning, hail, or whirlwinds. But the day after came ſtories to the Hague, from all parts, of ſuch violent effects as were almoſt incredible. At Amſterdam they were deplorable, many trees torn up by the roots, ſhips ſunk in the harbour, and boats in the canals, houſes beaten down; and ſeveral people were ſnatched from the ground as they walked the ſtreets, and thrown into the canals. But all was ſilenced by the relations from Utrecht, where the great and ancient cathedral was torn in pieces by the violence of this ſtorm; and the vaſt pillars of ſtone that ſupported it were wreathed like a twiſted club, having been ſo ſtrongly compoſed and cemented, as rather to ſuffer ſuch a change of figure, than break in pieces as other parts of the fabric did; hardly any church in the town eſcaped the violence of the ſtorm, and very few houſes without the marks of it. Nor were the effects of it leſs aſtoniſhing by the relations from France and Bruſſels, where the damages were infinite as well from whirlwinds, thunder, and lightning, as from hailſtones of prodigious bigneſs.

At my return to the Hague I had long converſations with the Penſioner, by which I gained the lights neceſſary to diſcover the whole preſent ſcene of affairs, and pulſes of the ſeveral confederates in what related to the general peace. I told him how much his majeſty was ſatisfied with that he had lately made with the States; how much he was reſolved to continue and to cultivate it; how much reaſon he had to be content with the poſture that had left him in a peace with all his neighbours, while they were all at war: that advantages of commerce from it were enough to make him trouble himſelf no further about the peace of Chriſtendom, if his goodneſs and piety did not prevail more with him than his intereſts; but that theſe, and the deſires of a general good, had perſuaded him to offer his mediation in the preſent quarrels: that

that it had been already accepted by France; and that the Emperor and Spain had anſwered, they would conſider of it in concert with their allies: that the States ambaſſadors at London had aſſured his majeſty their maſters would be pleaſed with it, and doubted not their conſent that the treaty ſhould be at London; and that thereupon his majeſty had charged me with a letter to the States to offer them his mediation: that I could not doubt their accepting it with the beſt grace that could be, for I knew their intereſt was to have a peace, and not to diſoblige the king: that if his majeſty were partial to any ſide, they ought to believe it would be to that wherein his own nephew was ſo deeply concerned; and the more, becauſe he offered his offices towards a peace at a time when the advantages and preparations for the war ran ſo high on the French ſide, as he doubted the events might ſhew if it continued: that they knew his intereſt would not ſuffer him to ſee Flanders loſt; and that, conſidering what had paſſed, his honour would not ſuffer him to think of preſerving it any other way than by that of a peace: that he would be glad to ſee that country left by the next peace in a better poſture of defence than it was by the laſt, and the Spaniſh territories lie cloſer and rounder than they were then left: that, when this ſhould be concluded, his majeſty would be ready to enter into the ſtrongeſt guaranties they could deſire, and might with honour enter into a war to preſerve it, though he could not to obtain it. The Penſioner firſt gave me thanks for my good offices in the late peace, and in all the meaſures of friendſhip that had interceded between his majeſty and them ſince the firſt breach. He applauded the king's reſolution in ſo pious and generous an offer, and acknowledged his intereſt might lead him to other diſpoſitions: that he doubted not the States willingneſs to accept it; all the difference would be about the time and manner of doing it. As to this, he

he ſaid, they could not do it without the communication at leaſt of their allies; but would immediately give them part of his majeſty's offer, and the States diſpoſitions to receive it: that for the terms of a peace, as to their own parts, they would be content to make his majeſty the arbiter of it: that they had already recovered all the towns they had loſt except Grave and Maeſtricht, the laſt of which was in ſome manner engaged to Spain when it ſhould be recovered; and for the other, they doubted not to have a good account of it very ſoon, orders being already gone to inveſt it. But he doubted whether their allies would be ſo eaſy in their expectations or demands; and that it was impoſſible for the States to leave them who had ſaved their country from ruin, when two ſo great kings had invaded them, or to break the treaties which they had made offenſive with the Emperor, Spain, and Brandenburg: that the terms ſtipulated with Spain obliged them to reduce France to the treaty of the Pyrenees; but only a reſerve was made by one article, which was, unleſs it ſhould otherwiſe be agreed by conſent between them: that whatever Spain would be content with ſhould ſatisfy them; though they were both equally ſenſible of the deſigns and ambition of France, as well as of their ill talent to the States: that they could never hope for ſuch another conjuncture, to reduce them to ſuch bounds and meaſures as might be ſafe to their neighbours, and give quiet to Chriſtendom: that it was now an ill time to enter into the terms of a peace between France and Spain, becauſe he knew they ſhould have ill grace to demand the reſtitution of any towns the Spaniards had loſt in Flanders by the laſt war, and given up by the peace that ſucceeded it; and yet his majeſty knew, as well as they, that without it a peace could neither be ſafe for Flanders, nor for Holland, nor conſequently for England. But he believed there would not paſs many days

days before ſome deciſive action would happen between the armies, now not far diſtant in the field, which would make room for the negotiation of peace that might ſucceed next winter, in which his majeſty would find the intereſts and humours of a trading country, as theirs was, very ſtrong, and diſpoſed to preſs their allies, as far as was poſſible, to facilitate ſo great and ſo good a work. And for the reſt of the allies beſides Spain, he had no reaſon to ſuſpect any great difficulties would ariſe, ſo little having yet paſſed in the war between France and them.

The Penſioner was right in expecting ſome ſudden action between the armies; for about the middle of Auguſt came the news of the battle of Seneffe, between the confederates under the command of the prince of Orange, and the French under the prince of Condé: but it proved not an action ſo deciſive as was expected between two armies of ſo great force, and ſo animated by the hatred and revenge of the parties, as well as by the bravery and ambition of the commanders. The ſucceſs of this fight was ſo differently reported by thoſe engaged in it, that it was hard to judge of the victory, which each ſide challenged, and perhaps neither with any great reaſon. The confederates had for ſome days ſought a battle with great deſire and endeavour; and the French avoided it, with reſolution not to fight unleſs upon evident advantage, whilſt both armies lay near Nivelle, and not far diſtant from one another. The reaſon of this was thought to be, of one ſide, the ardour of the young prince of Orange to make way, by a victory, into France itſelf, and there revenge the invaſion of his country; and at the ſame time to make his firſt eſſay of a pitched battle, againſt ſo great and renowned a general as the prince of Condé. On the other ſide, this old captain had too much honour to loſe, and thought he had not enough to gain, by entering the liſts with a prince of three and twenty

twenty years old, bred up in the ſhade of a contrary faction, till he was forced into the field by the French invaſion of his country. Nor was the advantage leſs on the French ſide in the reputation of their troops, than of their general; compoſed of excellent officers, choſen ſoldiers, exactly diſciplined, long trained for action before they began it, and now fluſhed by the uninterrupted ſucceſſes of two wars. But the Dutch troops, when the prince of Orange entered upon the command, were old or lazy ſoldiers, diſuſed with long peace, and diſabled with young unſkilful officers (choſen by no other merit, than that of a faction againſt the houſe of Orange) then filled up when the war broke out, with haſty and undiſtinguiſhed levies, and diſheartened with perpetual loſſes of towns, and defeats of parties, during the two firſt campaigns. The prince of Condé had another reſtraint upon the uſual boldneſs of his nature on ſuch occaſions, which was the ill poſture he had been in at court ſince the king's reign, and in regard how much more he would have to anſwer for than another man upon any great misfortune to his army, which muſt have left the way open for the confederates to enter France unguarded on that ſide by any ſtrong frontier; ſo as no man knew what ſhake it might give to the greatneſs of that crown, with the help of ſo great and general diſcontents, whereof this prince was thought to have his ſhare.

Upon theſe diſpoſitions in the Generals the battle was for ſome time induſtriouſly ſought and avoided: till the prince of Orange, believing there was no way of coming to a battle, but by the ſiege of ſome place that might be thought worth the venture to relieve, broke up and marched away towards Seneffe; his army divided into three parts, whereof the German troops under the count de Souches had the van, the Spaniſh under prince Vaudemont the rear, and the Dutch

under count Waldeck the main body; with whom the prince marched, and commanded the whole confederate army.

The prince of Condé obſerving their march, which was not far from one ſide of his retrenchments; and that by the ſtraitneſs of ſome paſſages they were forced to file off in ſmall lines, ſtaid till the vanguard and main body were over one of theſe paſſes, and the rear beginning to enter upon it; when he drew out his men, and fell with great fierceneſs upon the rear of the Spaniards, broke them with great ſlaughter, and not much reſiſtance, took their baggage, ſeveral ſtandards, and many priſoners of note. The prince of Orange, upon notice of the French march towards the Spaniſh troops, had ſent three ſquadrons back to their aſſiſtance, with all the diligence that could be; but the Spaniards, already broken, brought the Dutch into diſorder by falling in among them; and the French purſuing with great bravery, broke the Dutch ſquadrons to pieces, killing or taking all their commanders and ſeveral ſtandards.

If the prince of Condé had contented himſelf with this ſucceſs and execution, he had left no diſpute of a victory; but, lured on by the hopes of one more entire, and belief the Dutch, whom he eſteemed the worſt troops, would not ſtand after the Spaniards, and a great part of their own, were wholly routed, he followed the chace, and, drawing out his whole army upon them, brought it to a ſet battle, which was more than he intended. In the mean time the prince of Orange, marching to the relief of the Spaniards and the ſquadrons he had ſent, was at firſt enveloped by his own flying men, whom he could neither ſtop by words nor blows, by promiſes nor reproaches; till joining the reſt of his own forces that ſtood firm, and the Imperialiſts coming up to enforce them, the battle began with as great fury as any has been fought in the whole

courſe of the wars, continued ſo for above eight hours till ſun-ſet, and about two hours after by moon-light, till, that failing too, the fight ended, rather by the obſcurity of the night, than the wearineſs or weakneſs of either ſide. The prince of Orange, in the whole courſe of this action, gave all orders with ſuch prudence, and obſervance of all advantages, led up his ſeveral ſquadrons with that bravery, made ſuch bold ſtands againſt his own broken troops, as well as againſt the fierceneſs of their purſuers, for ſix hours together in the hotteſt of the fire; ſometimes charging into the midſt of the enemies, ſometimes overborn by his own that fled, till he rallied them and led them back to the charge; expoſed to more danger than moſt private ſoldiers in the field; ſo that the old count de Souches, in his letter to the States upon this occaſion, told them, that, in the whole courſe of the action, the prince had ſhewed the conduct of an old experienced commander, and the valour of a Cæſar: and indeed his allies, his friends, and his enemies agreed in giving him equal glory from this adventure. But he had more from none than from the prince of Condé's teſtimony, that he had done like an old captain in all, but only in venturing himſelf too much like a young man. Yet this old general had done the ſame in this day's action, as much as the youngeſt cavalier in his army could do, when he found the battle fought ſo deſperately, and all at ſtake; whereas 'tis certain, that nothing could have given vigour to the Dutch troops, after the firſt rout, but the repeated examples and dangers of the prince, and ſhame of not following ſuch a leader in all the deſperate charges he made that day, which both the generals ſeemed reſolved to die rather than to loſe.

As the numbers were not much different when the fight began, ſo were thoſe eſteemed that fell in this battle, and to reach to about ſix or ſeven thouſand on

either ſide; but, of the French, many more officers and gentlemen than was uſual, in proportion to the common ſoldiers. When the night parted the armies, the French retired back to their former quarters, and next morning the confederates marched to that which they deſigned when they broke up the day before. The allies claimed the victory, becauſe they were laſt upon the field; and the French, upon carrying away the greateſt number of priſoners and ſtandards: but whoever had the honour, they both felt the loſs.

After the repair neceſſary in each camp upon this ſharp encounter, each army took the field again, and gave a general expectation of another battle before the campaign ended: the prince of Orange fought it all he could; but the prince of Condé choſe and fortified his encampments ſo, as not to be forced to one without apparent diſadvantages, and contented himſelf to obſerve the motions of the allies, to preſerve the towns of the French conqueſts in Flanders, and prevent any invaſion of France, which was deſigned this ſummer with great confidence by the confederate armies, both on this ſide and that in Alſace, but with equal diſappointment; unleſs it were to monſieur Staremburg, who, in the beginning of the campaign, complaining of the wine at the prince's table, the prince told them, he would make them drink good wine in Champagne before the ſummer ended. He, who loved it well, deſired the prince to be as good as his word; was afterwards taken at the battle of Seneffe, and carried to Rheims, with ſeveral Dutch officers; where, ſitting down to dinner, and finding the wine excellent, he drank the prince's health, and ſaid, he would truſt him as long as he lived; for he had kept his word, and made them drink good wine in Champagne.

The prince of Orange finding no other way of action, ſat down before Oudenarde in September; and had his end of drawing the prince of Condé out of his cautious

cautious marches, who came immediately to relieve it, and fight the allies before they were ready to give an assault to the town. Upon sight of the French army, the prince of Orange called a council of war, and proposed to draw out and attack them immediately, before they were rested after their hard day's march. The Spaniards were content, but count Souches would not agree to it; and so this occasion was lost, and with such discontent, among the chief officers, that next day the Germans left the trenches, and marched away about a league, and left room to the French to put what relief they pleased into the town. Upon this, the prince of Orange was forced to rise too, with the rest of his army; and upon conferences with the count de Monterey, as well as Souches, resolved to leave the greatest part of the Dutch forces with the count, and with the rest to go himself, and press the siege of Grave. And here began those dissensions among the chief captains of the confederates, that continued to ruin their designs, and proved so fatal to them in the whole course of the war; and, against all appearances, made good the Spanish proverb, that, *liga nunca coje grandes paxaros* [birdlime never catches great birds] the same word signifying a league and birdlime, and meaning, that as this never catches great birds, so the t'other never makes great conquests, though it often does great defences: yet these first divisions were endeavoured to be cured, by the emperor's recalling the count de Souches, and Spain the count de Monterey, who were both thought to have maimed the actions of this campaign, or, at least, not to have seconded, as they might have done, the prince of Orange's vigour, in pursuing them to other sorts of successes than it ended with. This prince, having failed of what he proposed in favour of the Spaniards, was resolved to free his own country from the last

mark of their intended ſervitude, before this ſeaſon ended. Grave was the laſt town the French held in any of the Seven provinces, and had been kept as a magazine both of what had been taken in the other places, and was not eaſily carried away when they quitted them; ſo as there was above three hundred pieces of cannon in the town, a very full and brave garriſon compoſed of the beſt troops, and all that could be added to the fortifications of the place, after the French took it, tho' it was before counted one of the beſt the Dutch had. It had been inveſted a month before; yet the prince found the ſiege but little advanced at his arrival; and the Dutch ſoldiers ſo rebuted with the brave defence from within, that nothing could have carried the place at this ſeaſon, being about the middle of October when the prince arrived, but the ſame humour of leading on his men himſelf whenever they ſhrunk, which can never be too much praiſed, nor too much blamed in this prince; becauſe, as his country and allies would have had no general if they had loſt him, ſo they would have had no army if they had not ventured him. In ſhort, by this, and his uſual application and vigour, as well as the common methods of ſuch ſieges, he took Grave by the end of October, with equal glory to himſelf, and ſatisfaction to all the provinces; and returned to the Hague about the middle of November, after having diſpoſed his forces in their winter-quarters.

With the prince of Orange returned moſt of the general officers to the Hague, and among the reſt old prince Maurice of Naſſau, who, as the prince told me, had, with the greateſt induſtry that could be, ſought all occaſions of dying fairly at the battle of Seneffe, without ſucceeding, which had given him great regrets; and I did not wonder at it, conſidering his age, of about ſeventy-ſix, and his long habits both of gout

gout and ſtone. When he came to viſit me upon his return, and before he went to his government of Cleve, it came in my head to aſk him an idle queſtion, becauſe I thought it not very likely for me to ſee him again, and I had a mind to know, from his own mouth, the account of a common, but much credited ſtory, that I had heard ſo often from many others, of an old parrot he had in Braſil, during his government there, that ſpoke, and aſked, and anſwered common queſtions like a reaſonable creature; ſo that thoſe of his train there generally concluded it to be witchery or poſſeſſion; and one of his chaplains, who lived long afterwards in Holland, would never from that time endure a parrot, but ſaid, they all had a devil in them. I had heard many particulars of this ſtory, and aſſured by people hard to be diſcredited, which made me aſk prince Maurice what there was in it? He ſaid, with his uſual plainneſs, and dryneſs in talk, there was ſomething true, but a great deal falſe of what had been reported. I deſired to know of him what there was of the firſt? He told me ſhort and coldly, that he had heard of ſuch an old parrot when he came to Braſil; and though he believed nothing of it, and it was a good way off, he had ſo much curioſity as to ſend for it; that 'twas a very large and a very old one; and when it came firſt into the room where the prince was, with a great many Dutchmen about him, it ſaid preſently, what a company of white men are here? They aſked it what he thought that man was, pointing at the prince? it anſwered, Some general or other. When they brought it cloſe to him, he aſked it, *D'ou venez vous?* [whence come you?] it anſwered, De Maragnan, [from Maragnan.] The prince, *A qui eſtes vous?* [To whom do you belong?] The parrot, *A un Portugais.* [To a Portugueſe. The prince, *Que fais-tu là?* [What do you there?] The parrot, *Je garde les poulets.* [I look after the chickens.] The prince laugh-

ed, and said, *Vous gardez les poulets ?* [You look after the chickens ? The parrot answered, *Ouy, moy, & je le scay bien faire* ; [Yes I, and I know how to do it well ;] and made the chuck four or five times, that people use to make to chickens, when they call them. I set down the words of this worthy dialogue in French, just as prince Maurice said them to me. I asked him, in what language the parrot spoke ? and he said, in Brasilian. I asked, whether he understood Brasilian ? he said, No ; but he had taken care to have two interpreters by him, one a Dutchman that spoke Brasilian, and t'other a Brasilian that spoke Dutch : That he asked them separately and privately, and both of them agreed in telling him just the same thing that the parrot said. I could not but tell this odd story, because it is so much out of the way, and from the first hand, and what may pass for a good one ; for I dare say, this prince at least believed himself all he told me, having ever passed for a very honest and pious man. I leave it to naturalists to reason, and to other men to believe, as they please upon it : however, it is not perhaps amiss to relieve or enliven a busy scene sometimes with such digressions, whether to the purpose or not.

Before I enter upon the negotiations of the following winter, it will be necessary to give a short view of the actions of the several armies, and dispositions of the parties, in other places, as well as in the Low Countries, since all contributed to the different humours that appeared at the Hague about the peace, which was indeed the present scene of that affair, as well from his majesty's mediation, as the great weight of the States in the confederacy ; but chiefly from the person of the prince of Orange, who seemed to be the spirit or genius of the whole alliance, and for whom the rest, as well as the States themselves, had so great trust and deference : for several of their ministers made no difficulty to tell me upon many occasions, that their masters

ſters would not have entered into the preſent engagements they were in, had it not been more upon the confidence they had of the prince's perſonal honour and juſtice, than either the forces or the uſual conduct of the States-General, eſpecially in what concerned the foreign treaties and negotiations.

In Rouſillon little paſſed of importance between the forces there: The thoughts of both crowns were bent, on that ſide, more upon reducing or relieving Meſſina, that had made an abſolute revolt from Spain, and endeavoured to gain protection from France; which was not difficult in this conjuncture, as that which might not only give a great diverſion to the Spaniſh forces, but open a way for the French into the conqueſt of Sicily, and new deſigns upon Naples, which had been the ſtage of ſo many great wars between the houſes of France and Arragon.

In Germany the prince-electors Palatine, Mentz, and Triers, had entered into league with the Emperor for the defence of the German liberty againſt all ſtrangers. France was ſo enraged againſt the elector Palatine upon theſe meaſures he had taken, that monſ. Turenne, at the head of a French army, marched into his country, and made ſuch cruel ravages in it, and ſo unuſual to that general's common procedures, that the elector ſent him a challenge; which monſieur Turenne anſwered he could not accept without his maſter's leave, but was ready to meet him in the field at the head of his army, againſt any that he and his new allies would bring together.

This prince, ſpited at the helpleſs ruin of his country, proved the greateſt incentive among the German princes this ſummer, to join their forces, in order to ſome vigorous action againſt France on that ſide. The duke of Lunenburg engaged firſt, and afterwards the elector of Brandenburg, in the common cauſe of the Empire's being invaded. Straſburg was prevailed with

to

to throw off the neutrality they had enjoyed ſince the war began and declare for the Empire in this quarrel. The new biſhop of Munſter entered into the ſame meaſures, and all together made a conſiderable force, that they brought into the field, on the other ſide the Rhine, about the end of Auguſt, or beginning of September. The old duke of Lorrain joined them with his troops: the duke of Lunenburg was there in perſon; and the elector Palatine had the command of the army. They were divided, as well as the Imperial officers, whether they ſhould enter upon any conſiderable action or no till the duke of Brandenburg came up, who was upon his march at the head of a very conſiderable army, that joined the confederates in October. This gave great hopes and deſigns of entering either Lorrain or Burgundy, or taking Briſac, or at leaſt Zaberne and Haguenau, and thereby ſecuring their winter-quarters in Alſace. Monſieur Turenne, played a defenſive game, with a ſmall army, and ill handled by the ſickneſs of the ſeaſon. France was at ſuch a pinch for men, or fear of an irruption into their country from Flanders or Alſace, that they cauſed their ban and arriere ban, the aſſembling whereof had been long diſuſed, and in a manner antiquated. However, with ſome of theſe new troops, and a reinforcement from Flanders after the battle of Seneffe, monſieur Turenne, by plain force of ſkill, and that admirable ſcience in the conduct of war, which no captain of his age could diſpute with him, prevented and diſappointed every one of the confederates deſigns, without ever coming to a ſet battle, tho' not without ſeveral ſharp fights of part of the forces, upon neceſſity or advantage: ſo that the winter ended with the allies quitting the laſt point they pretended, and would have been indeed deciſive in the iſſue of this campaign, which was the German army's quartering in Alſace, and other parts on that ſide the Rhine.

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The moſt conſiderable loſs or event of this campaign upon the Rhine was the death of the young prince of Brandenburg, who died about the end of it at Straſburg, of a fever ſo violent and precipitate, as gave occaſion for the uſual ſuſpicions and diſcourſes that attend the death of ſuch young princes, as give great hopes and fears to their enemies and friends. This was the more conſidered for a particular and intimate friendſhip between him and the prince of Orange, who, though couſin-germans, and engaged in one common cauſe, were yet nearer joined by likeneſs of humours, than of intereſt, and by the ties of perſonal kindneſs, than of blood; and I never knew the prince of Orange more ſenſible of any misfortune that happened to him, than of this.

In all the encounters mentioned on this ſide, no forces were oftener ſeen or more felt, or gained more honour for their firmneſs and bravery, than the Engliſh regiments ſtill remaining in the French ſervice, to whom the Germans attributed wholly monſieur Turenne's ſucceſſes, as he did a great deal himſelf. But the diviſions among the princes that made up the confederate armies may juſtly be ſaid to have had all the merit that was not perſonal in monſieur Turenne; who was certainly allowed by all that compared them to be the greateſt Captain by much of his age, in the courſe of a war or conduct of a campaign; though the prince of Condé was thought greater in a day of battle, both as to the diſpoſal and order of an army, vigorous enterprize, and ſharp, as well as pertinent reſolutions, upon all ſudden emergencies, to which the courſe and chance of a battle is every way ſubject.

For Sweden and Denmark, they were not yet entered into the liſts, but ſeemed now upon the point of taking party. Sweden had acted the part of a mediator ever ſince the breaking up of the treaty at Cologne, both by their ambaſſador at Vienna and at the Hague, who plied both

both these courts with very long and frequent memorials to that purpose during this whole summer; but they had been as hard plied themselves all that time by the practices and advantages offered by France, both to that crown, and the chief ministers, to engage them in the war. Nothing seemed so likely to determine them, as the treaty and expedition of the duke of Brandenburg on the confederate side, which laid open his country to the invasion of Sweden, and gave them a pretence of a breach, in that prince, of the treaties between them, in making war against France without the consent of the Swedes. Therefore, as soon as he was gone towards the Rhine with all the strength of his forces, the Swedes drew the best and greatest part of theirs into Pomerania; and as the duke of Brandenburg advanced in the common designs against France; so Sweden, without declaring war, pursued their measures with that crown, and before the end of the year had drawn their forces into the Brandenburg country, though without attempt upon any places, and even with pretence at first of paying for their quarters, which was reckoned upon as short-lived among soldiers in another prince's country, whether friend or enemy. The present effect of this inroad, was the ending of another pretence of that crown, which was that of mediation, and so devolving that figure wholly upon his majesty; and on the other side giving hopes to the confederates of engaging Denmark on their side, if, for no other reason, yet upon that old one among them, of being always opposite to Sweden, and their interest or allies.

As soon as the prince came to the Hague I attended him, and, after complitments passed, I acquainted him with what his majesty had commanded me of his personal kindness and esteem for his highness; of his resolutions to observe and cultivate his present friendship with the States, and desire to see a general peace restored

reſtored to Chriſtendom, in which he intended to act wholly in concert with his highneſs, whoſe opinion as to the thing, and the conditions moſt neceſſary for his highneſs to inſiſt on, he very much deſired to underſtand as ſoon and as fully as he could. The prince anſwered me with expreſſions of duty and kindneſs to his majeſty, and deſires of a near conjunction between the two nations, which he thought alone could make his majeſty ſafe at home and abroad. For the peace, he ſaid, though he could make many complaints of the conduct both of the Spaniards and Imperialiſts ſince their treaties; yet the States could not, with any faith or honour, make a ſeparate peace, upon any terms that France could offer them: that a general peace could not be made without leaving Flanders in a poſture of defending itſelf upon any new or ſudden invaſion, againſt which no guaranties could ſecure it: that Spain could not upon any exchange, quit the county of Burgundy, or Cambray, nor any thing in Flanders beyond the treaty of the Pyrenees, unleſs it were Aire and St. Omer. This, he ſaid, was his opinion; but if he might know the king's, and find it at all conſiſtent with the ſafety of his country, and his own honour towards his allies, he would do all he could to bring it about, as he had already done the point of his majeſty's mediation, which was accepted both at Madrid and Vienna. I told him, that the king, having been the author and guarantee of the peace at Aix, and not having yet ſeen the French beaten out of any town that was given them by that treaty, could with ill grace propoſe any thing to France beyond thoſe terms, unleſs it were upon ſome equivalent. He replied reſolutely, 'Twere better going on with the war, let it laſt as long, and coſt as much as it would: that his majeſty might, if he pleaſed, induce France to whatever he thought juſt; and could never ſhew him ſo much kindneſs, as to bring him out of this war with honour: if

if he would not, it must go on till some change happened in the condition of the parties, to make the peace more necessary on one side or other: how it would fall out he could not tell, and must leave it to God; but he thought they had as fair a game as the French: that he was sure they might have been absolutely beaten at Seneffe, if the count de Souches had so pleased, and have had a fair blow for it again at Oudenarde: that he was sure Germany could furnish more and better men than France, and they were now in a manner united in the common defence; and he hoped the Emperor's counsels and conduct would not be so betrayed as they had been: that, however, he must perform what his own honour, as well as that of the States, was engaged in to their allies, let it cost what it would.

I imagined in what he said of the Emperor's counsels, he reflected upon the business of prince Lakowitz, whose disgrace made so great noise about this time, and with particulars so extraordinary of the French practices in that court, that they were very hard to believe, and very uncertain to know at that distance, and even at Vienna itself; and therefore I would not enter into them with the prince, nor shall I here, as being foreign to this present scene.

There was one point more I entered into with the prince, which was upon occasion of the many discontented persons in England, at the course of the last ministry and war, who were suspected to have trinkled, at least with Holland, about raising seditions, and perhaps insurrections in England, if the war continued, and the Dutch fleets should appear upon our coasts, which were like to be unguarded the next summer, by the straits his majesty was in for money to set out a fleet. It was believed, among many others, my lord Shaftsbury was one that had of late played this game; who, having been as deep as any man in the counsels

counſels of the cabal, and gone ſo far in the public applauſe of them, as, in a ſpeech in parliament, to have applied the *delenda Carthago* [Carthage muſt be deſtroyed] to our intereſt in the deſtruction of Holland; yet when he ſaw the parliament and nation ſullen upon it, and that the king could not purſue it with ſo much ill humour in both, he turned ſhort upon the court and the reſt of the cabal, fell in with the popular humour in the city, as well as parliament, decried the preſent deſigns and conduct, though with the loſs of his chancellor's place, and was believed to manage a practice in Holland for ſome inſurrection here. I told the prince, what the king ſuſpected of ſome of his ſubjects, without naming any; how much ſervice it would be to his majeſty to know them more certainly, and how kind it would be in his highneſs to diſcover them. The prince was ſtanch, and ſaid, he was ſure the king would not preſs him upon a thing ſo much againſt all honour, as to betray men that profeſſed to be his friends. I gave his majeſty an account of all that paſſed between the prince and me, which was thought at court both cold to his majeſty, and ſtiff as to the peace; and I had no returns or orders upon it; but within a week or ten days I had notice, that my lord Arlington and my lord Oſſory intended to make a turn into Holland, with monſieur Odyke and his two ſiſters, to make a viſit to their friends at the Hague; and, about the beginning of December, they arrived in the king's yachts, but without any ſort of character, or ſhew of buſineſs.

My lord Arlington brought me a letter from the king, written all with his own hand; and telling me he had ſent him to ſet right ſome important points between his majeſty and the prince, which ought not to lie longer in doubt; recommending to me all the aſſiſtance I could give him, and aſſuring me of his majeſty's confidence and kindneſs. His lordſhip brought the

the moſt ample credential likewiſe, that could be, from his majeſty to the prince, who ſtill gave me part of all that paſſed between them, with as much openneſs and freedom, as the other did with coldneſs and reſerve; and thereby lent me many lights that I could not otherwiſe have had, to diſcover the myſtery of this journey and affair, which was, in great part, a ſecret to my lord treaſurer himſelf, whom yet his majeſty was thought to truſt at that time, as much as he had ever done any of his miniſters.

My lord Arlington, who had been at the head of thoſe meaſures that the king entered into, during the miniſtry of the cabal and the war with Holland, in conjunction with France, found himſelf ſomething diſcredited with his maſter, upon the ill iſſue of that affair, and the neceſſities which forced him to a ſeparate peace, both from the wants of his treaſury, and diſcontents of his parliament and people in general. By the degrees this lord's favour declined, the earl of Danby's increaſed, who ſucceeded my lord Clifford in the treaſury, which had ever been my lord Arlington's ambition. This gave him an implacable envy and hatred againſt my lord Danby; which no offices of friendſhips could ever allay. He was not well with the nation for having had ſuch a part in breaking the courſe of the triple alliance, and making that with France for the ruin of Holland, and, as was commonly thought, for ſome ends more diſpleaſing at home. Yet, when the ill humour of the parliament had broken the deſigns of the cabal, and made my lord Shaftſbury ſhift his ſails, and fall into the popular ſtream, my lord Arlington had gone ſo far upon the ſame ſcent, as to join with the duke of Ormond and ſecretary Coventry, to perſuade the king to remove the duke wholly from court and public buſineſs, as a means to appeaſe the diſcontents of the parliament upon ſome jealouſies the late conduct of affairs had raiſed among them.

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By this counſel my lord Arlington had very much offended the duke; and, finding himſelf ill with his royal highneſs, with the parliament, and every day declining in credit with the king, he thought there was no way of retrieving his game, but by making himſelf the inſtrument of ſome ſecret and cloſe meaſures that might be taken between the king and the prince of Orange. He firſt infuſed into his majeſty the neceſſity and advantage of ſuch a negotiation, and then that of his being employed in it, from the intereſt his lady's friends and kindred in Holland would be able to give him, as well as from the credit of having been ſo long in the ſecret of the king's affairs, and ſo beſt able to give them ſuch colours as might render the late conduct of them leſs diſagreeable to the prince. Though he profeſſed great friendſhip to me, yet he repreſented me as unlikely to be treated with ſuch a confidence from the prince as was requiſite in this affair, for having been ſo intimate with monſieur De Witt, in my former embaſſy; and gave the prince's unwillingneſs to ſee me during the campaign, as a teſtimony of his diſlike or at leaſt indifferency, to me. He propoſed going over with all the auxiliaries that were like to be of any ſuccour in this expedition, carrying not only my lady Arlington, but madam Beverwaert her ſiſter, who had ſomething in her humour and converſation very agreeable to the prince; Sir Gabriel Sylvius, who took himſelf to be in great credit in that court, where he had ſerved long, and particularly with monſieur Bentinck; nor was it forgot to carry over Dr. Durel, as a man fit to practiſe monſieur De Maraſt, a French miniſter, who was thought to have credit with the prince: and my lord Oſſory was known to have a great part in his kindneſs and eſteem, as well from his marriage into the Beverwaert family, as from his bravery, ſo much applauded in all actions, where he

had been, which was a quality loved by the prince, though employed againſt him.

My lord Danby had been made to believe, that a letter from the prince to monſieur Odyke, then one of the Dutch ambaſſadors in England, had given occaſion for this journey, as if the prince had deſired ſome perſon there from the king, with whom he might enter into the laſt confidence; but the prince aſſured me there was no ſuch thing, and that monſieur De Ruvigny, the French miniſter at London, had more part in this journey than he, or perhaps any body elſe; and that all the endeavours, uſed towards a peace, came from that ſide.

However inſtructed, at leaſt thus accompanied, my lord Arlington came to the Hague; where he told me, at our firſt meeting, that he came over to ſet right ſome things between the king and the prince, that he doubted were amiſs; and to ſettle a perfect kindneſs and confidence between them for the time to come: that to do this he muſt go to the bottom of the ſore, and rake into things paſt, which was an unpleaſant work, and which I could not do, as having no part in the king's buſineſs during that time wherein the prince took his offence at our counſels: that the king had choſen him for this office, becauſe he could beſt juſtify his majeſty's intentions towards his highneſs, in the whole courſe of that affair: that for the peace, though his majeſty deſired it, yet he would not meddle in it, unleſs the prince of himſelf made any overtures about it, but would only endeavour to give the prince what lights he could, as to the ſtate of things in general, and what he might hope from his allies, as well as from France: that, if the prince made no advances to him upon it, he would let it fall, and leave it in my hands, to be purſued by the orders I ſhould receive: that he knew very well, ſuch a commiſſion as his might look unkind, if not injurious, to another ambaſſador,

baſſador, and that he would not have come if any other had been here; but the king, as well as he, reckoned ſo far upon the friendſhip between us, that they were both confident of my being eaſy in it, and giving him any aſſiſtance he ſhould want from me, which he would acquaint me with as the matter proceeded. He ſaid beſides, That, after having fought the king's battle with the prince, he muſt fight another of his own, who did not deſerve the coldneſs his highneſs had of late expreſſed to him; and when this was done, all his buſineſs was ended here, and the reſt would be only ſeeing his friends, and finding ſome diverſions from a new ſcene: that he deſired I would, according to the forms, bring him and my lord Oſſory, the firſt time, to the prince, and after that they would ſee him no more in ceremony, nor give me that trouble.

I told his lordſhip I was very glad to ſee him, let his buſineſs be what it would: that I ſhould be gladder yet that the king's buſineſs ſhould be done, let it be by whom it would, but much more that it might be by him: that for ſetting matters right between the king and the prince, I thought it the beſt office could be done them both: that for the way he mentioned of raking into the ſore, and fighting battles in defence or juſtification of what was paſt, I knew not what to ſay to it, but would leave it to his own prudence; but from what I knew in particular, of the prince's humour and thoughts, whatever he did of that ſort, I believed, ſhould be very gentle, and not go too deep; and, for my own part, was always of opinion, that expoſtulations are very apt to end well between lovers, but ill between friends: that I would ſend to the prince for an hour; and, when I had brought him to his highneſs, I would leave him there after the firſt entrances were paſt, and deſired no other part in this affair, than what he thought neceſſary to give me; whenever he did, I ſhould ſerve him the beſt I could, in ſo good

an endeavour; and for the reſt, I ſhould leave the field free to my lord Oſſory and him, while they ſtaid at the Hague, as to all that was ſecret: as to the reſt, I deſired they would make what uſe they pleaſed of me and my houſe.

My lord Arlington took all I ſaid very well; ſaid, it was not neceſſary I ſhould leave them, after I had introduced them to the prince, but in ſuch a manner as I ſaw he would not diſlike it, or have any body thought to have any part in the ſucceſſes he expected: ſo next morning I brought them to the prince, and, after a quarter of an hour's ſtay, left them together. The prince would have had me ſtay, but my lord Arlington ſaid not a word; and I pretended ſome letters preſſed me, and ſo went away, and never ſaw them together any more while they ſtaid at the Hague, unleſs at dinner, or in mixed and public company.

The truth is, I was not the worſe entertained, during the courſe of this adventure; for my lord Arlington told me every day what he thought fit, of all that paſſed between them; and the prince told me, not only the thing, but the manner of it, which was more important than the matter itſelf; for this had no effect, but the other a great deal, and that laſted long. My lord Arlington told me much of his expoſtulations, and with what good turns of wit he had juſtified both the king's part in the late war, and his own; but that upon all he found the prince dry and ſullen, or, at the beſt, uneaſy, and as if he wiſhed it ended: that upon diſcourſe of the ſtate of Chriſtendom, and what related to the war he was engaged in; he made him no overtures at all, nor entered further, than that the king might bring him out of it with honour if he pleaſed, and with ſafety to Chriſtendom; if not, it muſt go on till the fortunes of the parties changing, made way for other thoughts, than he believed either of them had at this time: that this might hap-

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pen after another campaign, which none but his majesty could prevent, by inducing France to such terms as he thought just and safe for the rest of Christendom.

This was the sum of what my lord Arlington pretended to have passed in three long conferences; after which it grew so uneasy between them, that he told me he had absolutely given it over, and would not say a word more of business while he was there, and attended his majesty's orders, after the return of his dispatches, but would divert himself in the mean time as well as he could, see the prince as often as he pleased at dinner, or in company, but ask it no more in private, unless the prince, of himself, desired it; and, upon the whole, gave all the signs of being equally disappointed and discontented with the success of this undertaking.

The prince, on the other side, told me with what arrogance and insolence my lord Arlington had entered upon all his expostulations with him, both upon the king's chapter and his own: that it was not only in the discourses of it, as if he pretended to deal with a child, that he could by his wit make believe what he pleased; but in the manner he said all upon that subject, it was as if he had taken himself for the prince of Orange, and him for my lord Arlington: that all he said was so artificial, and giving such false colours to things every body knew, that he that was a plain man could not bear it, and was never so weary of any conversation in his life. In short, all the prince told me upon it looked spited at my lord Arlington, and not very much satisfied with the king's intentions upon this errand; though he said he was sure his majesty never intended he should treat it in the manner he had, if he remembered that he was his nephew, though nothing else.

After the first conversations, my lord Arlington staid near six weeks in Holland, either upon contrary winds to return his dispatches, or to carry him away, often at dinner with the prince at court or at count Waldeck's, or monsieur Odyke's, or with me putting on the best humour and countenance, affecting the figure of one that had nothing of business in his head, or in the design of his journey, but at heart weary of his stay in Holland, and unwilling to return with no better account of his errand; and, as it proved, he had reason for both.

I found the Pensioner and count Waldeck thought that the bent of my lord Arlington was to draw the prince into such measures of a peace as France then so much desired; into a discovery of those persons who had made advances to the prince or the States of raising commotions in England during the late war; into secret measures with the king of assisting him against any rebels at home, as well as enemies abroad; and into the hopes or designs of a match with the duke's eldest daughter: though they said he found the prince would not enter at all into the first, was obstinate against the second, treated the third as a disrespect to the king, to think he could be so ill beloved, or so imprudent, to need it; and, upon mention made of the last by my lord Offory, he took no further hold of it than saying, his fortunes were not in a condition for him to think of a wife.

Thus ended this mystical journey, which I have the rather unveiled, because, perhaps, no other could do it; nor I, without so many several lights from so many several hands; and because, though it brought forth no present fruits; yet seeds were then scattered, out of which sprung afterwards some very great events.

My lord Arlington returned, was received but coldly by the king, and ill by the duke, who was angry

that any mention had been made of the lady Mary, though it was done only by my lord Offory, and whether with order from the king, or no, was not known: so as never any ſtrain of court ſkill and contrivance ſucceeded ſo unfortunately as this had done, and ſo contrary to all the ends the author of it propoſed to himſelf. Inſtead of advancing the peace, he left it deſperate; inſtead of eſtabliſhing a confidence between the king and the prince, he left all colder than he found it; inſtead of entering into great perſonal confidence and friendſhip with the prince, he left an unkindneſs that laſted ever after; inſtead of retrieving his own credit at court, which he found waning upon the increaſe of my lord Danby's, he made an end of all he had left with the king, who never after uſed him with any confidence further than the forms of his place; and found my lord treaſurer's credit with the king more advanced in ſix weeks he had been away, than it had done in many months before.

Whatever was the occaſion, France had this winter an extreme deſire of a peace; and left no ways unattempted to obtain it, that might not too much diſcover the need they had of it. I ſuppoſe they might apprehend what the confederates reckoned upon, with perhaps too much aſſurance; that, if they could gain one battle, they ſhould certainly enter France; and, if ever they did, the ill humours grown under this late government would certainly break out, and make way for all the ſucceſſes and ravages they propoſed to themſelves; or, at leaſt, for ſuch terms of a peace as would leave all the neighbours of that crown in ſafety and at quiet. A talk was ſet on foot of a marriage between Monſieur's eldeſt daughter and the king of Spain, in the heat of the war: a ſuſpenſion of arms was propoſed at Vienna by count Oxenſtiern the Swediſh ambaſſador; and the ſending Plenipotentiaries immediately after to treat the peace, with offers, in caſe this

were agreed to, that the affair of prince William of Furſtemburg ſhould be reſpited till the end of the treaty, and paſſports ſhould be granted for the duke of Lorrain's miniſters, upon which difficulties had been made: practices were uſed with the princes of Brandenburg and Lunenburg, to disjoin them from the common alliance, and a particular intelligence was held between the marſhal D'Eſtrades and one who had been Penſioner of Maeſtricht, who communicated all his letters to the Penſioner Fagel: but the ſum of all was inſtances for a ſeparate peace between France and Holland; a breach of their meaſures with the houſe of Auſtria, and return of the old ones with France, towards which they offered all the advantages that could be to the States in point of commerce, and all the perſonal ones that could be deſired by a prince of Orange.

But the prince was unmoveable in the point of not leaving his allies; though he began to foreſee he was like to play a hard game with them next ſummer in the field, and perhaps a harder with the people at home, who grew impatient for a peace, both upon the cruel taxes the war had raiſed, and upon the preſent decay of trade, as well as apprehenſion, that, with longer continuance of the war, it would run ſo far into a new channel by England as never to be retrieved. Upon theſe conſiderations the prince reſolved to make one effort towards a peace with honour before this ſeaſon ended, and made all further thoughts of it give way to the actions of the approaching campaign. His ſcheme was this, That a match ſhould be made between the king of Spain and Mademoiſelle: that France ſhould give with her in dowry the late conquered places in Flanders: that the king ſhould make this match, and upon theſe terms: and that he ſhould have two hundred thouſand pounds for his good offices in it. By this means a peace would be made with ſafety to Spain and

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to Holland, by ſecuring again the frontiers of Flanders; with honour to France, who parted with the conquered towns only as dowry to a daughter of France; without any blemiſh to the prince's honour or faith in his alliances; and with honour and profit both to his majeſty, which laſt was thought no unwelcome circumſtance at that time in our court.

This the prince and Penſioner having digeſted the beſt way they could, and deduced to me, deſired me to propoſe to the king, as the only way of making the peace he ſo much deſired; as a thing they were ſure he could do, and that France could not deny him if he would preſs it; and as the laſt degree of favour his majeſty could expreſs to the prince, who could no other way come out of this war with honour. They deſired me to write it to the king himſelf, and that nothing might be ſaid of it to any other perſon, till his majeſty ſhould return me his opinion upon it.

I did ſo by two letters to the king, but had no hopes given me that it would be effected: Whether France took the deſires of the prince for an argument of his being weary of the war, or that he found the people were ſo; or whether they would not end the war, without breaking the force and confidence of the preſent alliance, or (as the prince thought) without leaving Flanders open for another invaſion, when ſome better conjuncture ſhould make way for it; or whether the revolt of Meſſina had given them hopes of diſabling Spain, by drawing their forces on that ſide, and diſpoſing them to a peace by this wound in a part ſo tender, and that might ſpread ſo far into Italy; or whether they had now abſolutely engaged the crown of Sweden to enter into the war, and believed that, by the impreſſion that crown would make in Pomerania, they might not only recal the duke of Brandenburg and his forces from the Rhine, but, if they ſucceeded, might ſo alarm the Empire on that ſide, as to break,

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or very much weaken any conjunction of their forces next ſummer on this ſide the Rhine. However it was, this attempt of the prince failed, and ſo all further thoughts of a preſent peace ended, and left me only to purſue the cold ſcent of a mediation in the common forms, while the preparations were making on all ſides for a warm ſummer in the field.

The prince this February went into Guelderland, to eſtabliſh the new magiſtracy there according to his office of Stadtholder. Whilſt he was there, the deputies of that province, by unanimous conſent, made him an offer of the ſovereignty of that country, with the ancient title of duke of Guelderland, which they pretended had been formerly in ſome of his anceſtors. The prince ſaid, he would give them no anſwer upon an affair of ſuch moment without firſt adviſing with the other provinces. He immediately writ to thoſe of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, to communicate this offer to them, and demand their advice upon it. Zealand returned theirs againſt his accepting it; grounding it upon the jealouſies it might raiſe in the other provinces, and inconſiſtence of it with the conſtitutions of their union, which left none of the provinces at liberty to diſpoſe of their ſovereignty without conſent of the reſt. Utrecht returned their anſwer with advice to accept it. Holland was longer depending, upon the delays neceſſary in running the circle of ſo many towns: ſo that, before it was concluded, the prince, upon receiving the advice of Utrecht, returned them immediately his anſwer, with notice, that he had excuſed himſelf to the States of Guelderland, from accepting the offer they had made him.

Nothing could more employ the buſy heads of this time, than the courſe of this affair; ſome attributing it to the ambition of the prince, and preſaging the ſame deſign upon the reſt of the provinces; others laying it to the charge of ſome of his young counſellors; others

others to a design of sounding the humour of the provinces, and of having the honour to refuse it, after they should all have advised him to accept it, as 'twas believed they would do. For my own part, I can say nothing of it with certainty, having never seen the prince while it was upon the anvil, nor discoursed with him upon this subject either before or after: but if it were an ambition bent upon the sovereignty of the rest of the provinces, as well as Guelderland, it was a design very different from all his proceedings in the course of the war, when France had proposed it to him with all the advantages and support that could be; and as different from what he had ever seemed to understand, and to be as much persuaded of as any man, That a sovereign prince in Holland would certainly and soon ruin the trade, and consequently the riches and greatness, of that State, and leave a prince of it without power or consideration in the world; whereas the princes of Orange, in the post they have held for four generations, have entered into wars and treaties with a regard and weight equal to most of the kings of Christendom. For young counsellors that were thought to have engaged the prince in this adventure, I cannot speak with more certainty than of the intention; but I am sure, if they were in it, they were not alone; for none doubts of monsieur Fagel's having been for it; and monsieur Beverning, who was ever thought as stanch a patriot as any man among them, told me himself, that he had advised the prince to accept of it; which I believe he would not have done, if he had foreseen any danger from it to his country. But whether the prince or his friends had the part that was commonly thought in the first overture, 'tis certain an interest of the deputies and magistrates, as well as nobles, of Guelderland had a share in it too. For whereas this is the first province in the union, and abounds with nobles more than all the rest; yet, by reason of their poverty

verty from a barren ſoil, and want of trade, they are leſs conſidered than ſeveral other provinces, and their voice has been in a manner ſwallowed up by that of Holland, who, by their trade and riches, have a great influence upon thoſe of Guelderland. The deputies of this province finding themſelves yet leſs conſiderable in the union than they were before the war, which had extremely impoveriſhed their country during the French conqueſts, thought there was no way of recovering ſuch a conſideration in the State, as ſuited with the rank and dignity they held, but devolving the ſovereignty of their province upon the prince of Orange. Beſides, many of the nobles there, having pretences for themſelves or their friends in the military employments, thought to make their court to the prince, upon whom thoſe charges depended, by advancing ſuch a propoſition: and this was certainly a great ingredient into the firſt conception of it; but whether connived at, or ſeconded by the prince, or his friends, or with what aims or inſtructions, I cannot ſay; and ſo leave it as a muſhroom that grew up ſuddenly, and as ſuddenly withered, and left no ſign where it had grown.

At the prince's return to the Hague in March 1675, I received a letter from his majeſty's own hand, telling me of ſome advices given him, That the prince intended to come over into England againſt the approaching ſeſſion of parliament; and commanding me to hinder it, as if his majeſty believed the thing. I adventured to aſſure the king there could be nothing of it, before I ſaw the prince; but, when I did, I pretended not to have had it from his majeſty, but that I heard ſuch a thing had been whiſpered to him. He ſaid, Yes, and he believed by lord Arlington, who had ſometimes talked of that journey after the peace ſhould be made; however it came, he was ſorry the king ſhould believe it: that he was his majeſty's ſervant,

vant, and, if he could do him no ſervice, he would at leaſt do him no harm: but, if the king would be otherwiſe poſſeſſed, he could not help it: yet he deſired me to aſſure him, there had never been any ground for ſuch a report. In the afternoon the prince came to me, and told me in great heat, he had, ſince he ſaw me, received the moſt impertinent letter from lord Arlington that ever was upon that ſubject, treating it as a reſolution certain and intended for raiſing heats in the parliament, and commotions in the kingdom; telling him, 'Twas like to prove but an ill friendſhip between the king and him, if it was to be made *á coup de bâtons* [with blows]; and putting him in mind, *Qu'il y a des playes chez vous, qui ſaigneront encore ſi l'on y met la main*, [That there are ſome wounds among you, which will bleed afreſh if they be but touched.] The prince ſaid he knew well enough what lord Arlington meant by that expreſſion, for he had told monſieur Van Rheede in England, when he went over upon the firſt motions of the laſt peace, that the king could make the prince be ſerved as De Witt was, if he would ſet himſelf about it. Upon this he fell into the greateſt rage that ever I ſaw him in, againſt my lord Arlington, calling this proceeding malicious and inſolent; ſaying he would write to him what he deſerved, but never have any thing more to do with him beyond common forms; that, ſince he knew not how to truſt the king's miniſters, he would write to the king himſelf, and deſired me to convey his letters ſo as they might come to no other hand.

Soon after, count Waldeck went to Vienna to concert the actions of the next campaign, where count Montecuculi was appointed to command the Imperial forces inſtead of the duke de Bournonville; and the count de Souches was ſent away into a government in Hungary. In March the elector of Brandenburg came to Cleves upon the ſame concert, where he was met by the

the prince of Orange, and the marquis de Grana the Emperor's minister: but the main point, debated here, was thought to be the defence necessary to be made in Pomerania against the Swede, who began now to throw off the mask, to ravage the country, and to attack some places necessary for their quarters. The money likewise paid that court from France at Hamburgh had been so public and so avowed, that none further doubted of a sudden and open rupture from that crown. Whereupon the states sent to monsieur Ehernstein (then Swedish ambassador at the Hague, and who would have kept still the figure of a mediator) to put in no more memorials to the States upon that occasion; since they could not receive them from a minister, whose prince had openly, and without cause, attacked one of their allies.

At this time arrived an ambassador from Denmark at the Hague, to try what advantages his master could make of this present conjuncture, by terms of entering into the alliance against France and Sweden. And, all things being thus in the highest fermentation, a sudden damp fell upon the whole mass of these great affairs by the sickness of the prince of Orange; which shewed him to be the spring that gave motion to all the other wheels; for while his illness lasted, and the event was doubtful, all was in suspense, and none of the parties engaged seemed to have other motions or sentiments than what were raised by the hopes or fears of so important a life. After some days fever it proved the small-pox, which had been very fatal in his family, and gave the greater apprehensions to his friends, and his country, who expressed indeed a strange concernment upon this occasion, by a perpetual concourse of people to enquire after every minute's progress of his illness. Whilst it lasted, he had taken a fancy hardly to eat or drink any thing but what came from my house, which the people often took notice of as it passed;

paſſed; and though perhaps few foreigners have had the luck to be better thought of or uſed in a ſtrange country, than we had ever been in Holland; yet ſeveral of our Dutch friends told us, that, in caſe any thing fatal happened to the prince from this diſeaſe, they believed the people would pull down our houſes, and tear us all in pieces, upon knowing what he took in his ſickneſs came from our hands. God be thanked all paſſed without any bad accident, though ill ſymptoms at firſt; and his recovery, next to the bleſſing of God, was owing to the great evenneſs of his temper, and conſtancy of mind, which gave way to no impreſſions or imaginations that uſed to be of ſo ill conſequence in that diſeaſe; ſo that it paſſed in the common forms, and within twenty days he was abroad, and fell into the preſent buſineſs of the ſcene, among which the preparation for the campaign was the chief.

I cannot here forbear to give monſieur Bentinck the character due to him, of the beſt ſervant I have ever known in prince's or private family. He tended his maſter, during the whole courſe of his diſeaſe, both night and day; nothing he took was given him, nor he ever removed in his bed, by any other hand; and the prince told me, that whether he ſlept or no he could not tell, but, in ſixteen days and nights, he never called once that he was not anſwered by monſieur Bentinck, as if he had been awake. The firſt time the prince was well enough to have his head opened and combed, monſieur Bentinck, as ſoon as it was done, begged of his maſter to give him leave to go home, for he was able to hold up no longer: he did ſo, and fell immediately ſick of the ſame diſeaſe, and in great extremity; but recovered juſt ſoon enough to attend his maſter into the field, where he was ever next his perſon.

The campaign happened to begin later than it uſed to do on the French ſide; both from the expectation what

what the prince's ſickneſs would end in, and from ſome commotions ſucceeding one another about this time in Guyenne and Britany, upon occaſion of the impoſts or gabels, which drew ſome of the French forces into thoſe parts. But when thoſe troubles were ended, as they were by an unuſual ſtrain of lenity and clemency in compoſing them, all imaginable endeavours were uſed to prepare in France for the campaign: the king intended to attack Flanders at the head of all the choice of his forces, and with the greateſt vigour and impreſſion he could make this year upon the Spaniſh Netherlands; yet the king pretended to be but a volunteer in the army, of which he declared the prince of Condé general, whether to put the greateſt compliment he could on ſo great merit, or to hinder his brother from making difficulty of acting under that prince's orders. And monſieur de Turenne was to be employed in Alſace, to attend and amuſe as much as he could the German Army, for fear of giving the king too much diverſion in Flanders; and this with orders to act by concert with count Wrangel, General of the Swediſh forces in Pomerania, who gave hopes of marching ſo far into Germany as to concert his actions, or at leaſt motions, with thoſe of monſieur de Turenne. On the other ſide the confederates were as buſy in their proviſions againſt theſe deſigns. The elector of Mentz was drawn to throw off the remainders of his neutrality, and to receive the Imperial troops into his towns, as Straſburg had done; and practices were ſet on foot to change the temper of the court of Bavaria, with hopes of ſucceſs. Montecuculi prepared to come down into Alſace with the army of the Emperor and the adjoining circles: and the elector of Brandenburg came to the Hague after the prince of Orange's illneſs, where treaties were concluded with the king of Denmark's miniſters, and renewed with the duke of Lunenburg. After which the elector went immediately away to the

the relief of his own ſubjects and country, then invaded and ſpoiled by the open hoſtility of the Swediſh forces. Whilſt he was at the Hague, the compliments paſſed in form between us, but without viſit or interview, though the elector deſired and purſued it with more inſtance than I well underſtood: for he ſent his miniſter at the Hague firſt to me, and afterwards engaged the prince himſelf to endeavour it, by finding ſome expedient in the difficulties of ceremony, or elſe by propoſing a third place. But the French ambaſſadors having taken up a form of refuſing to viſit any elector, unleſs they might have the hand given them in thoſe princes houſes, and the electors having never conſented to it, I told the prince I could not go lower than the French ambaſſadors did, in that or any other point; and that meeting in a third place would look like a ſort of approving the refuſal made by the electors; and ſo I never ſaw this prince during his ſtay at the Hague; much to my regret becauſe I had been prepoſſeſſed of many qualities very eſteemable in him.

In the mean time, how uſeleſs ſoever for the preſent, yet the forms of his majeſty's mediation went on: after it had been accepted by all parties, the firſt point that came to be conſidered on, was the place of treaty; about which the Swedes could not ſurmount the difficulties during the courſe of their mediation. The houſe of Auſtria propoſed to have the congreſs in ſome of the free towns of the Empire, as Franckfort, Hamburgh, Straſburg, and ſome others: France refuſed ever to come into any town of the Empire, upon the inſults they received and complained of ſo much at Cologne, in the ſeizure of prince William of Furſtenburg, and a great ſum of the French money there; but offered at the ſame time, to come and treat at Breda, though belonging to one of the parties engaged in the war; which they would make paſs for a great condeſcenſion and teſtimony of that king's inclination to a peace.

The confederates, on the other ſide, would not hear of Breda: they took that propoſition as an artifice, firſt, to ingratiate with the States beyond the reſt of their allies; but next, which was the point of importance, they looked upon it as deſigned to carry on either a ſeparate treaty with the States, or, at leaſt, private meaſures and correſpondencies with ſeveral towns and perſons of thoſe provinces, ſo as to induce or force the States at laſt into a ſeparate treaty with France, upon the difficulties or delays that might ariſe in a general one. And upon this point the allies were ſo jealous, that the States deputies of the foreign committee, who managed all theſe affairs in the firſt reſort, thought it neceſſary to ſeem as averſe againſt treating in any of their dominions, as any of the allies. Thus all places in Germany, France, and the Low-countries, ſeemed abſolutely excluded by one part or other; and London was diſliked by all, as too remote, and of difficult and uncertain commerce for letters, by reaſon of the ſea. After much perplexity upon this ſubject, in many conferences I had with the deputies, and diſcourſes with the Penſioner, I propoſed two places as the only I could think of, left for any attempt, upon all circumſtances: the firſt was Cleves, which could not be ſaid to belong to the Empire, but to the elector of Brandenburg, as duke of Cleves, and not as a prince of the Empire. The other was Nimeguen, as being the laſt town belonging to the States, and upon the borders of Germany. Both towns capable of ſuch a reception as was neceſſary, both in good air, and eaſy of acceſs from all parts, centered between Spain and Sweden, between the Empire and France, and near England, where the ſpring of this treaty was conceived to be. I thought France might not diſlike Cleves, even upon thoſe regards the allies ſuſpected, of the vicinity to the States; and the confederates could not except againſt it, as belonging to one of them. On the other ſide,

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if the allies approved Cleves, and France ſhould refuſe it, yet they could not afterwards diſapprove of Nimeguen, which was but three leagues nearer the Hague or Amſterdam (where they ſuſpected the French practices) and disjoined from both by neceſſary paſſage of great rivers, which made the commerce more difficult and ſlow than it would be from other towns of the States dominions. Another reaſon was, that I knew no other to name, that did not ſeem previouſly excluded. And upon this the deputies conſented that I ſhould propoſe both to the king, that he might do the ſame to all the parties: but that I ſhould begin with Cleves, which I did.

This France refuſed, upon pretence of ſome dependence upon the Empire; but, as was thought, upon pique to the duke of Brandenburg, with whom they were more offended at this time than with any of the allies. After this refuſal, Nimeguen being advanced, France firſt accepted it, and afterwards the allies, who could not well refuſe it, after having expreſſed they would have been ſatisfied with Cleves: and ſo this place came to be fixed for the ſcene of this negotiation.

But at the ſame time that France accepted the place of treaty they declared, that they would not however ſend any ambaſſadors thither till the Emperor had given them ſatisfaction upon the two points, ſo long inſiſted on, of prince William of Furſtenburg's liberty, and reſtitution of the money ſeized at Cologne, which were points had been hitherto as obſtinately refuſed at Vienna, as demanded by France; ſo as theſe paces towards a peace gained at preſent very little ground, but left way for the actions and ſucceſſes of the enſuing campaign, to determine the times, the methods, and conditions of their pretended treaty.

The French began their action by the ſiege of Limbourg, with one part of their army; whilſt the king, with the reſt, lay encamped in a poſt moſt convenient

to open any attempt of relieving it, to which purpoſe the prince was upon his march; but, after a ſhort and weak reſiſtance, it was taken before he could approach it: for, beſides ſome delays forced by his ſickneſs, he began here to feel the weight that hung about him in all the courſe of this war, from the uncertain and ſlow marches of the German horſe, and the weakneſs and diſorders of the Spaniſh troops; which were neceſſary to make up his army of ſtrength to oppoſe that of France, compoſed of ſuch numbers, ſuch brave and experienced troops, and under ſo great a commander as the prince of Condé and ſo gallant officers.

After the taking of Limbourg, the French and confederate armies in Flanders fell into no conſiderable action or attempt: neither daring to ſit down before any place of ſtrength, whilſt the other army attended them, and was ready to relieve it; and neither ſeeming very earneſt to come to a battle (unleſs with evident advantages) upon the loſs of which ſo great conſequences ſeemed to depend, as the French entire conqueſt of Flanders, on the one ſide; or the confederates marching directly into France, on the other, after any great victory. Beſides, they ſeemed to be amuſed by the expectation of what was likely to paſs in Germany, both upon the Rhine between the Imperialiſts and French, and in Pomerania between the Swede and Brandenburg; which, without new ſucceſſes in the Low-countries, were like to decide, in a great meaſure, the fate of this war; whilſt the confederates equally preſumed of their ſucceſſes in Alſace, and the French of thoſe of the Swedes in the north.

About the end of July, the king of France, weary of a dull campaign, left the army to the prince of Condé, and returned with his court to Verſailles; and, the ſame month, his majeſty, ſeeing the negotiations of the peace laid at preſent aſleep, ſent for me to make a ſhort turn into England, and give an account of all the

the obſervations I had been able to make abroad upon the preſent diſpoſitions and conjunctures, as well as receive his inſtructions for the future progreſs of his mediation.

The parliament in England, though much pleaſed with the laſt peace with Holland, yet were not ſo with his majeſty's deſires of a general one. They thought the power of France too great ſince their laſt conqueſts in Flanders: and their ambition too declared, of atchieving it by one means, and at one time or other. They were ſuſpicious of the court's favouring too much the French deſigns, by purſuing a peace that would break ſo mighty a confederacy as was now united againſt France. They were jealous of the counſels which had made the late alliance and kindneſs between us and France in the time of the late cabal. And beſides theſe regards, and the common notions of balancing the power of our neighbours, which were very popular; the ambitious deſigns of private, but unquiet or aſpiring men, fell in to augment and blow up the general ill humours upon the more public accounts.

The lord Shaftſbury, impatient at his fall from ſo great a ſhare of the miniſtry, and hoping to retrieve a game he was forced to give over, had run deſperately into the popular humour, both in parliament and city, of cenſuring the court, exclaiming againſt our partiality to France, but moſt of all againſt the conduct of the preſent miniſtry: and lord Arlington was ſo enraged at the growth of my lord Treaſurer's credit upon the fall of his own, that he fell in with the common humour of the parliament, in fomenting thoſe jealouſies and practices in the houſe of commons, which centered in a meaſure agreed among the moſt conſiderable of them, not to conſent to give the king any money, whilſt the preſent lord Treaſurer continued. Upon theſe occaſions or diſpoſitions they grew very

high in purſuing the lord Lauderdale, the only remainder of the cabal that had now any credit left at court; and they preſſed the king very earneſtly to recall all the Engliſh troops in the French ſervice, though there was a greater number in the Dutch: but beſides, they fell into ſo great diſſenſions between the two houſes, raiſed upon punctilious diſputes and deductions of their ſeveral privileges in oppoſition to one another, that about the end of June the king prorogued them.

Upon my arrival ſoon after, his majeſty, telling me the ſeveral reaſons that had moved him to it, ſaid, That he doubted much, while the war laſted abroad, it would give occaſion or pretence for theſe heats that had of late appeared in the parliament, and make him very uneaſy in his revenue, which ſo much needed their aſſiſtance: that ſome of the warm leaders in both houſes had a mind to engage him in a war againſt France, which they ſhould not do for many reaſons; and, among the reſt, becauſe he was ſure, if they did, they would leave him in it, and make uſe of it to ruin his miniſters, and make him depend upon them more than he intended, or any king would deſire. But, beſides all this, he doubted an impertinent quarrel between my lord Treaſurer and lord Chamberlain did him more diſſervice in the parliament than I could imagine: for the laſt did not care what harm he did his buſineſs there, ſo he could hope to ruin my lord Treaſurer; and had perſuaded a great many in the houſe of commons, that this would certainly be compaſſed if they were ſtanch and declared in giving no money during his miniſtry: that he knew they were both my friends, and therefore deſired I would try to reconcile them while I ſtaid in England. I endeavoured it, but failed: my lord Danby was very inclinable, being ſo poſted as to deſire only to continue where he was, and that the king's buſineſs might go well in his hands; but my lord Arlington was ſo uneaſy in the poſture he ſtood, which he attributed

buted chiefly to my lord Treaſurer's preſent greatneſs, that he was untreatable upon this ſubject: ſo, when I found the wound was too much rankled to be cured, I gave it over, telling each of them, that, ſince I could not make them friends, I would at leaſt live with them both as if they were ſo; and deſired them not to expect I ſhould ſacrifice one friend to another. My lord Treaſurer was content with this frankneſs, but lord Arlington could not bear this neither, grew dry from this time, and ſtiff in all that paſſed between us, ſtill mingling little reproaches or touches of my greatneſs with the other; and grew ſo weary of the ſcene at court, where he found himſelf left out, that he went into the country for the reſt of the ſummer.

Thus the ſeeds of diſcontents, that had been ſown in the parliament under the counſels of the cabal, began to ſpring faſt, and root deep, after their power and influence was wholly at an end; and thoſe heats were under other covers fomented by two of the chief that compoſed that miniſtry, and with help of time and accident grew to ſuch flames as have ſince appeared. But whatever began or increaſed them, it is certain theſe agitations in England had great effect upon thoſe of the war and peace abroad: for the confederates were confident, that the humour of the parliament and people would at laſt engage the king in their quarrel, which they knew would force France to ſuch a peace as they deſired: and Spain was ſo preſuming that England would not ſuffer the loſs of Flanders, that they grew careleſs of its defence, or of thoſe orders and ſupplies that were neceſſary to it; truſting for the preſent to the Dutch to preſerve it, and to the king hereafter whenever he ſhould find it more in danger. And theſe conſiderations made the allies leſs inclinable to a peace, which they might have had cheaper the following winter, than ever it fell afterwards to their ſhare, by revolutions that were not foreſeen,

ſeen, but yet ſuch as were ſuſpected at this time, by thoſe that knew the weakneſs of the Spaniards, and diviſions of the Imperial court.

While I ſtaid in England, which was about ſix weeks, the news came of a great inſurrection in Britany, which with the numbers, and rage it began, might have proved of ill conſequence to the French affairs, if it had met with a head anſwerable to the body; but being compoſed of a ſcum of the mean people, that hated and ſpoiled the nobleſſe of the province, it was, by fair means partly, and by foul, in a little time appeaſed. The blow, which was much more conſiderable to France, than the loſs of provinces would have been, was the death of monſieur Turenne, the news whereof came to court about the ſame time. This great captain had for three months together kept the Imperial army at a bay on the other ſide the Rhine; reſolved not to fight unleſs with the greateſt advantage, his point being to hinder the German forces from beſieging Philipſburg, from poſting themſelves in the towns of Alſace, but chiefly from entering into Lorrain, or the county of Burgundy: all theſe he performed; but being preſſed by the Imperialiſts, and ſtraitened in his quarters, he ſuffered much by want of proviſions, and found his army diminiſhed by ſickneſs and deſertion, which uſe to follow that condition. At laſt, being neceſſitated for want of forage to force a poſt of the enemies that ſtraitened him moſt, a warm ſkirmiſh began, and with loſs to the French, who were galled with two pieces of cannon raiſed upon an eminence, and playing upon them with advantage. Monſieur Turenne reſolved to raiſe a battery to diſmount them; and going with St. Hilaire, a Lieutenant-General, to chuſe a place the moſt convenient for it, the two ſmall pieces from the Imperial ſide fired at them almoſt together; one of the bullets wounded St. Hilaire in the ſhoulder; and the other,

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after two or three bounds upon the ground, ſtruck monſieur Turenne upon the breaſt, and, without any apparent wound more than the contuſion, laid him dead upon the place, and by ſuch a death as Cæſar uſed to wiſh for, unexpected, ſudden, and without pain. The aſtoniſhment was unſpeakable in the French camp upon the loſs of ſuch a general; the preſumption as great in that of the Imperialiſts, who reckoned upon themſelves as maſters of the whole French army, that was ſtraitened between them and the Rhine, in want, diſeaſed, and above all diſcouraged by the loſs of their captain. All others had the ſame expectation upon this news, but all were diſappointed; and monſieur de Lorges, taking the command of the army, had the honour of making a retreat that was worth a victory; and, by the force of order and conduct, with the bravery of the Engliſh troops, who made ſuch bold ſtands in ſeveral places that they could not be broken till moſt of the army were marched off, he paſſed the Rhine in ſight of part of the Imperial army, and encamped himſelf on the other ſide in ſafety; and ſo preſerved it till the prince of Condé was ſent in haſte out of Flanders, with a great enforcement, to oppoſe the progreſs of the Imperialiſts in Alſace.

In the mean time the elector of Brandenburg, drawing his forces, with ſome Imperialiſts out of Sileſia, together, fell upon the Swedes in Pomerania with that bravery and ſucceſs, that he ſoon beat them out of his part of the country, and purſued them into their own. He had an interview with the king of Denmark, who was now entered into the intereſts of the confederates, and reſolved to declare war againſt Sweden; and to that end took his meaſures with the duke of Brandenburg how to purſue it with the beſt advantage the reſt of the ſeaſon.

When the prince of Condé left Flanders, to ſucceed monſieur Turenne in Alſace, the duke of Luxemburg

burg commanded the army in Flanders; but with orders not to hazard a battle, and only to obſerve the prince of Orange's motions, and to cover any town that was like to be endangered; which he performed ſo well, that no further action paſſed this ſummer, beſides the prince's taking and razing of Binch. But, to make amends for the unactiveneſs of the campaign in Flanders, the confederates, by concert on all ſides, fell upon an enterpriſe of great *éclat*, and of greater conſequence, which was the ſiege of Triers. The Imperialiſts were bent upon it, to open a paſſage that way into France, finding ſo much oppoſition in their deſigns of it by Alſace: the Spaniards deſired it, to make way for their ſuccouring Luxemburg whenever it ſhould be preſſed, which was of the laſt importance to them: the duke of Lorrain was violently for it, in hopes of finding a way open for his entrance into Lorrain: the prince Palatine thought it the beſt preparation for beſieging and carrying Philipſburg, which was the thorn in his ſide. So all theſe joined part of their troops together, with ſome of the elector of Triers's, and a body of Lunenburg forces under the dukes of Zell and Oſnaburg, and ſat down before Triers.

The marſhal de Crequi gathered all the forces he could out of the neighbouring provinces, and made up a ſtrong army to relieve it. The confederates left part of theirs to maintain their retrenchments about the town, and marched with the reſt againſt monſieur de Crequi, paſſed a river in his ſight, attacked him, beat him out of the field with great ſlaughter, many priſoners, and ſuch a diſperſion of the reſt, that the whole army ſeemed to have vaniſhed in one day; and monſieur de Crequi got into Triers with four or five only in company: there he made a deſperate reſiſtance for near a month againſt the victorious army, with great honour and loſs among the Engliſh troops that were in the town, and without any hopes of relief; nor would he

he ever capitulate, after all the extremities he was reduced to by the forms of a ſiege, till the garriſon mutinied againſt his obſtinacy, capitulated for themſelves, and delivered up monſieur de Crequi and moſt of the officers priſoners to the Germans. The dukes of Lunenburg had great honour in this action, and the old duke of Lorrain; and indeed it was one of the moſt vigorous that ſucceeded in the whole courſe of the war, and carried the completeſt victory, as well as a very conſiderable town: and the honour of it was very much due to the marquis de Grana, who commanded the Emperor's forces there, and was eſteemed to have laid the firſt deſign, to have concerted the ſeveral parts of it, engaged the ſeveral parties to reſolve upon the ſame adventure, and kept them firm in it till it was atchieved. The loſs of men was very great on the French ſide, both in the fight and the ſiege; and, added to monſieur Turenne's death, and the impreſſion expected upon it on that ſide from the count de Montecuculi, with the loſs of the Swedes, made ſo great a change in the appearance of affairs, that his majeſty, in a letter to me, in September, after my return to the Hague, bid me uſe it as an argument to induce the prince of Orange to be eaſy in the buſineſs of a peace; that it was now time for him to begin to apprehend again the greatneſs of the houſe of Auſtria inſtead of that of France. It was indeed expected, that the Imperialiſts in Alſace would either enter into Lorrain, or at leaſt would take the chief towns of Alſace, and poſt themſelves ſo the following winter, as to be ready for ſuch an enterpriſe in the beginning of the next ſpring; and the count de Montecuculi beſieged firſt Haguenau, and afterwards Zaberne, which were the moſt conſiderable places, to that end. But, after Haguenau had offered to ſurrender upon conditions, he roſe with his army to fight the prince of Condé, who made a motion with his army as if he intended

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to relieve it; but ſo ordered it, as the Germans failed both of the battle and the town. It was never comprehended how Montecuculi afterwards came to riſe of a ſudden from the ſiege of Zaberne: ſome ſaid, it was upon an expreſs order from Vienna the night before; others, with deſign of fighting the French army, or beſieging Philipſburg; but neither happened: and, which was worſe than all, he ended the campaign with paſſing back his whole army over the Rhine, and leaving Alſace wholly in the poſſeſſion and at the mercy of the French troops. Nor have I ever known any action of ſuch public concern, ſo unaccountable as this retreat; ſince it is hard to ſuſpect either corruption or court-faction ſhould go ſo far, though both were accuſed of having part in this great and almoſt deciſive event.

The reſentment of it was thought to have broke the old duke of Lorrain's heart, who died about this time, and left prince Charles, his nephew, the ſucceſſion to that dutchy. No prince had met with more misfortunes than this duke, nor had felt them leſs, or given greater teſtimony of what philoſophy teaches, that the good or ill of men's lives comes more from their humours than their fortunes. He was expelled that noble and lovely dutchy by the arms of France in cardinal Richelieu's time: forced to go into the Spaniſh ſervice in Flanders with a body of Lorrainers that would follow his fortune whatever it was; ſtruggled with want of pay to his troops, with jealouſy and ill uſage of the Spaniſh governors; was ſeized and impriſoned by that crown; reſtored to a ſhattered poſſeſſion of Lorrain by the peace of the Pyrenees; and in the year 1670 forced to eſcape by night, and almoſt alone, by a ſudden ſurprize of the French troops, in the height and ſecurity of peace: after this he never had a home any more for the reſt of his life, which was ſpent in ſuing for protection and relief from the

ſeveral

ſeveral princes of Chriſtendom, who reſented the injuſtice of his caſe, which none pretended to defend, but yet none to concern themſelves in it, till upon the laſt war he fell into his ſhare of the confederacy, with the weight of two or three thouſand Lorrainers that ſtill followed his fortune, and entered into leagues with the Emperor and moſt of the allies for his reſtitution. He ſeemed not to deſerve the fortune of a prince, only becauſe he ſeemed not to care for it, to hate the conſtraints and ceremonies that belonged to it, and to value no pleaſures in life but the moſt natural and moſt eaſy; and, while he had them, was never out of humour for wanting the reſt; generous to his ſervants and ſoldiers when he had it; and, when he wanted, endeavouring to make it up by the liberties he gave them; very much beloved and familiar among both: and, to give his picture by a ſmall trait, one of his miniſters told me, That, not long before he died, all his family was a gentleman of the horſe (as he was called) another of his chamber, and a boy that looked to a little nag he uſed to ride: one day he called for his horſe; the two firſt told him, the boy was not to be found; he bid them however get him his horſe: they could not agree which of them ſhould go and ſaddle him; till the duke bid them go, and one or t'other of them do it, or elſe he ſwore he would go down and ſaddle his horſe himſelf: they were aſhamed, and 'twas done.

About the ſame time died at the Hague the old princeſs-dowager of Orange; a woman of the moſt wit and good ſenſe, in general, that I have known; and who had thereby a great part in forming the race of the prince, and the mighty improvement it received from three very extraordinary women, as well as three ſo great men in the laſt deſcents. None has ſhewed more the force of order and œconomy than this princeſs; who with ſmall revenues, never above twelve thouſand

thouſand pounds a year ſince her huſband's death, lived always in as great plenty, and more curiouſneſs and elegance, than is ſeen in many greater courts. Among other pieces of greatneſs, ſhe was conſtantly ſerved all in gold plate, which went ſo far as to great bottles for water, and a great ciſtern for bottles, to the key of her cloſet, and every thing of that kind ſhe uſually touched; which I mention, becauſe I think it is what the greateſt kings of Chriſtendom have not pretended to, nor any I have heard of on this ſide Perſia.

In November this year happened a ſtorm at North-Weſt, with a ſpring tide, ſo violent, as gave apprehenſions of ſome loſs irrecoverable to the province of Holland, and, by ſeveral breaches in the great digue near Enchuyſen, and others between Amſterdam and Haerlem, made way for ſuch inundations as had not been ſeen before by any man then alive, and filled the country with many relations of moſt deplorable events. But the incredible diligence and unanimous endeavours of the people, upon ſuch occaſions, gave a ſtop to the fury of that element, and made way for recovering next year all the lands, though not the people, cattle, and houſes, that had been loſt.

Before the end of the year, the Danes took Wiſmar from the Swedes, and, by an open war, thoſe two crowns came to be engaged in the common quarrel: and, after a great expectation of ſome extraordinary ſucceſſes in the Spaniſh affairs from Don John's intended expedition into Italy, to command all the forces and provinces of that crown both there and in Sicily, when he was ready to go and meet De Ruyter at Barcelona, who attended him there with the Dutch fleet deſigned for Meſſina, he was, by a court-intrigue, recalled to Madrid: the king was then arrived in his fourteenth year, and took upon him the government, as now in majority; and, by the advice of ſome near him in favour,

vour, writ a letter to Don John to invite him to court to aſſiſt him in the government: he obeyed, but ſtaid not there above a fortnight or three weeks, till, by the credit and authority of the queen mother, he was forced to quit his ground there, and return to Saragoſſa. And ſo vaniſhed a mighty expectation that had been raiſed in Spain, and other places, of great effects that were to follow this prince's coming to the adminiſtration of affairs; and very great ſums of money were wholly loſt, that had been employed in the preparations of his journey and equipage for Italy. And Sicily was left almoſt hopeleſs of recovery, from the ſucceſſes of the French, who had taken many poſts about Meſſina, and threatened many more; and other towns were feared to follow the example of that great revolt.

After the prince's return from the campaign to the Hague, in October, I had ſeveral conferences with him upon the ſubject of the peace, and the terms that both his majeſty and the States might think reaſonable between France and Spain, and both thoſe crowns be in any probability of conſenting to. That, which France pretended, was the terms of the peace of Aix, and retaining the county of Burgundy which had been ſince conquered; or if either this province, or ſome of the moſt important frontier-towns of Flanders, ſhould be reſtored, then an equivalent to be made them for ſuch reſtitution. The Spaniards talked of nothing leſs than the peace of the Pyrenees; and that they would rather loſe the reſt of Flanders by the war, than part with Burgundy by the peace; and ſaid, both the king and the States were as much concerned in Flanders, as the crown of Spain, and had the ſame intereſt to ſee it ſafe by a war or a peace, which could not be by ſuch a frontier as was left by that of Aix.

That which my lord Arlington had propoſed to the Prince and Penſioner, and which paſſed for his majeſty's

ſty's ſentiment, though he pretended no orders, was the terms of Aix la Chapelle: but, in regard of the neceſſity for the Spaniards to have a better frontier in Flanders than was left by that peace, That the French ſhould give up Aeth, and Charleroy, and Oudenarde, for Aire and St. Omer: and that, if they parted with the county of Burgundy, it ſhould be for ſomething in exchange. His majeſty commanded me to aſſure the prince, that if a peace could be made upon theſe terms, or any ſo near them that he might hope to obtain the conſent of France, his majeſty, for the ſecurity of Flanders, would give his own guaranty to the peace, and enter into the ſtricteſt alliance the States could deſire for preſerving it, or defending Flanders in caſe of a new rupture. He bid me further aſſure the prince, that for his patrimonial lands in Burgundy (which were about eight thouſand pounds a-year, and lordſhips of the greateſt royalty in that county) he would undertake for his ſecure poſſeſſing them, though that county ſhould remain in the French hands; or for ſelling them to that king, and at what price the prince himſelf could think fit to value them.

The prince's anſwer was, That for his own part he could be very well content to leave the terms of a peace to his majeſty himſelf, and believed the States would do ſo too; but they were both engaged by treaty and honour to their allies, and there was no thought of making peace without them: that he believed the Spaniards might be perſuaded to it upon the terms of Aix, with reſtitution only of Aeth, Charleroy, and Oudenarde, towards compoſing ſome kind of neceſſary frontier on that ſide; but to part with Aire and St. Omer, without any further and greater exchange, he believed they would not in the preſent poſture of things: that for France retaining the county of Burgundy, as conquered in this laſt war, he was ſure neither Spain nor the Emperor would ever conſent

ſent to it, unleſs they were beaten into it by diſaſters they had no reaſon to expect; though, for his own part, he ſhould be content with it, provided the French would reſtore Tournay, Courtray, Liſle, and Doway, with their dependencies, to the Spaniards, in lieu of it; becauſe by that means Flanders would have a ſecure frontier on that ſide, and a reaſonable good one by Aeth and Charleroy on the other; and the ſecurity of Flanders was the chief intereſt of the States upon the peace: that, for himſelf, he thanked his majeſty for his offer, as to his lands in Burgundy; but they never came into his thought upon the terms of a peace, nor ſhould ever hinder it; but, on the other ſide, he would be content to loſe them all, to gain one good town more for the Spaniards in Flanders.

When I put him in mind, as the king ordered me, of the apprehenſions he and the States might have of the greatneſs of the houſe of Auſtria, if their ſucceſſes continued; he told me, There was no need of that, till they ſhould go beyond the peace of the Pyrenées: whenever that ſhould happen, he ſhould be as much a Frenchman as he was now a Spaniard; but not before. He ended, in deſiring that whatever plan his majeſty thought fit to propoſe for a peace, he would do it at the congreſs at Nimeguen; for the number and variety of pretenſions and intereſts were grown ſo great, by all the parties now engaged in the war, that it could not be done in any other place; and, for his part, he could never conſent to any treaty ſeparate from his allies: that he believed they would be reaſonable; and, if France would be ſo too, the peace might be made; if not, perhaps another campaign might bring them to reaſon; and that this might have done it, if ſome differences between him and the Spaniards, in the actions propoſed, had not hindered the ſucceſſes they hoped for in Flanders, and if Montecuculi's impatience to be at Vienna, and paſs the winter there, upon the fac-

tions ſtirring at court, had not made him repaſs the Rhine, and take his winter-quarters in the circles of the Empire there, becauſe, if he had done it in Alſace, he doubted his preſence with the army might be thought neceſſary.

After this conference, and no return from his majeſty to the account I gave him of it, the diſcourſe ceaſed of private meaſures to be agreed to between his majeſty and the prince and ſtates, for promoting a peace; and all thoughts began now to turn upon forming the congreſs at Nimeguen.

I had another teſtimony given me of the firmneſs I had always found in the prince upon the ſubject of the peace, by what one of the Spaniſh miniſters told me had lately paſſed between him and the duke de Villa Hermoſa. His highneſs had a long pretence depending at Madrid, for about two hundred thouſand pounds owing to his family from that crown ſince the peace of Munſter. It had ever been delayed, though never refuſed; an agent from the prince had of late very much preſſed the queen regent of Spain upon this ſubject, and with much ado had obtained an order for fifty thouſand pounds; and bills were put into his hands by the miniſters there, which, when they arrived in Flanders, inſtead of being paid, were proteſted. The duke de Villa Hermoſa was ſo aſhamed of this treatment, that he ſent a perſon purpoſely to excuſe it to the prince, and aſſure him the fault was not in the queen nor miniſters, but only in the choice of hands by which it was tranſmitted, and deſired his highneſs would not take it ill of the queen. The prince anſwered, "No, not at all; on the other ſide I have "reaſon to take it well of the queen; for, if ſhe did "not think me the honeſteſt man in the world, ſhe "would not uſe me ſo; however, nothing of this kind "ſhall hinder me from doing what I owe to my allies, "or to my honour."

Notwithſtanding

Notwithſtanding all I had written from the prince to his majeſty upon this ſubject, yet my lord Arlington, upon pretended intelligence from his relations in Holland, endeavoured to perſuade him that he knew not the prince's mind for want of ſome body that had more credit with him than I had; and at the ſame time he purſued the prince by letters, to deſire the king to ſend over ſome ſuch perſon as he might treat with in the laſt confidence upon all matters between them. The prince ſhewed me his letters, and bid me aſſure the king and my lord treaſurer, that he could ſay no more than he had done to me, and would not ſay ſo much to any other man. However, my lord Arlington, upon the former ſuggeſtions, prevailed with the king to ſend over ſir Gabriel Silvius inſtructed to know the bottom of the prince's mind upon the ſubject of the peace, before the campaign began. He acquainted the prince with this reſolution, and that he was a perſon they knew his highneſs would truſt: the prince ſhewed me this letter too, and ſaid, he knew not what he meant; that lord Arlington knew as well as any man how far he truſted both ſir Gabriel Silvius and me. This good uſage ended all correſpondence between lord Arlington and me, which had laſted by letters to this time, though coldly ſince my being laſt in England. But upon ſir Gabriel Silvius's coming to the Hague in January, and my preparation to go for Nimeguen, I ended that ſcent; having not learned enough of the age, nor the court I lived in, to act an unſincere part either in friendſhip or in love.

When ſir Gabriel came to the Hague, he paſſed for a man of ſome great intrigue, was perpetually at court, or in converſation and viſits with the perſons near the prince or moſt employed in the State. But he and lord Arlington were ſoon ſatisfied to how good purpoſe he came over; for the prince, who is the ſincereſt man in the world, hating all tricks, and thoſe that

uſe them, gave him no mark of the leaſt confidence while he ſtaid, and ſent him away with a very plain one of the contrary, by truſting another hand with all he writ of conſequence into England, before he went into the field. The truth is, the prince took this journey of his to have been deſigned by my lord Arlington, both out of ſpite to me, and to give jealouſies to the confederates, by the ſuſpicion of ſomething in agitation between the king and the prince that I was not thought fit to be truſted with. And indeed ſeveral of their miniſters at the Hague were apt to fall into ſuch ſurmiſes: but monſieur de Lyra, a Spaniſh miniſter, a perſon much credited in his own court, and much in the prince's confidence, was ever firm in the belief of his highneſs's honour and conſtancy (which he uſed to ſay his maſter truſted to more than to any treaties) and ſo helped to prevent ſuch impreſſions.

In the mean time, all motions neceſſary towards forming the congreſs at Nimeguen began to be made by the ſeveral parties, and gave appearances of the ambaſſadors meeting ſuddenly there. The great obſtruction hitherto had been the point of prince William of Furſtemburg's liberty, which France had ſo abſolutely inſiſted on before they ſent their ambaſſadors, and the emperor had been induced to promiſe only upon concluſion of the treaty. But an expedient was found out to ſalve the honour of France upon this point, rather than the treaty ſhould be hindered, which was at that time thought neceſſary for their affairs: the biſhop of Straſburg made a formal requeſt to the king of France, that no private intereſts, or reſpects of his brother, might delay the treaty of a peace which was of ſo much conſequence to all Chriſtendom; and, this requeſt being at this time eaſily received and granted, no further difficulty was made upon this point.

His

His majesty thereupon invited all the princes concerned in the war, to hasten away their ministers to the place of congress, and acquainted them with his having ordered his own to repair immediately thither; and having some months before appointed the lord Berkley (then ambassador at Paris) Sir William Temple and Sir Lionel Jenkins his ambassadors, mediators, and plenipotentiaries for the treaty of Nimeguen; Sir Lionel was accordingly dispatched away, and arrived at the Hague towards the end of January 1676, and brought with him our instructions for that embassy; and, after some few days stay at the Hague, went away for Nimeguen. But the expedition of the passports, from and to all the ministers of the several parties, having been for some time under my care, and many of them come to my hands, though others were entangled still in some difficulty or other, we both concluded it necessary for me to continue at the Hague till this was dispatched; whilst Sir Lionel should go upon the place of congress, and, by the presence of a mediator, invite the rest to make more haste than many of them seemed disposed to at this time.

The French ambassadors were already come to Charleville, where they staid for their passports only, to go on with their journey; and, upon Sir Lionel's arrival at the Hague, the Dutch ambassadors came to us to acquaint us with the States orders for their immediate repair to Nimeguen, and for the magistrates of that city (which they now considered as a neutral town) to receive all orders from us the mediators, and particularly any we pleased to give about our reception upon our arrival there.

We told them, his majesty's thoughts were upon the successes of the treaty, and that nothing could more obstruct it than the ceremonies which used to attend those meetings; and therefore he ordered us to introduce, as much as we could among all the ambassadors,

the method of living there as much like private men as could consist with the honour of their characters; and to this end that we should make no public entries, and give thereby an example to those that came after us.

To avoid all punctilio's about the time of the several parties dispatching the passports, it was agreed that all should be sent to the Hague from the several courts, and there should be put into my hands; to the end, that, when I found myself possessed of them, I should make the distribution reciprocally to both parties at the same time. Those of France were early with me, but short in some points of those from the confederates; the chief whereof was the omission of liberty granted to the ambassadors to dispatch couriers to their masters' courts upon passports of the respective ambassadors, which was thought necessary for the progress of the treaty. Another was the omission of passports for the duke of Lorrain's ministers in the form usual and expected: for, whereas the crown of France had always treated the former dukes of Lorrain with the title of duke, and appellation of Brother, their passports now treated the new duke only with Cousin, and prince Charles of Lorrain; the rest were minute differences or mistakes of words, which are not worth the mention, and were easily surmounted. Of all these his majesty had early notice, and employed his offices towards France for some months, without answer upon that of Lorrain, and with positive refusal of inserting the clause for liberty of passports; though monsieur Van Beuninghen several times, during this pause, writ to the States, That the king often assured him (their ambassador at London) that there should be no difficulty in the business of Lorrain.

About the beginning of February this year 1676, I received a letter from monsieur de Pompone, then secretary

cretary for foreign affairs in France, to tell me, That his master, having been acquainted from his majesty with the difficulties occurred in forming the congress, had ordered him to let me know his reasons upon them: As to that of couriers, that he thought it not fit to have his countries and towns lie open to his enemies observations and discoveries, upon pretext of such couriers frequent passage: that the inconvenience would be the same to the confederates: and that he asked no more than he gave. As to the point of Lorrain, that his master could not give passports with the style of duke, which carried that of brother; pretending that duchy belonged to his most christian majesty by the treaty 1662, between him and the last duke.

Not many days after, I received notice from secretary Williamson, of the same account having been given his majesty by monsieur de Ruvigny, with order to acquaint the States with it; which I had not done upon monsieur de Pompone's letter, as not thinking fit to make any paces in these matters without orders from his majesty. The States and all their allies were very much surprised with this pretence of Lorrain, which France had never before advanced, or so much as mentioned, either upon the seizure of that duchy, or since that time, in the accounts of it by their ministers in the several courts of Christendom; they had only professed to have found such a seizure necessary for preserving the peace wherein Christendom then was, from the dangerous or uncertain dispositions of that duke, with whom his most christian majesty could take no certain measures, and his enemies would be practising; but that it was without any intention of retaining any part of that duchy otherwise than for this end of preserving the peace of Christendom. All this, with many more circumstances, monsieur Serinchamps, the Lorrain envoy, alledged at the conferences with the States and allies upon this occasion; and, for the trea-

ty of 1662, he ſeemed to wonder it ſhould ever be mentioned, as a thing wholly invalid, and, as every body thought, thereupon long ſince forgotten: that the laſt duke had no power to diſpoſe of that duchy from his nephew; becauſe, if the Salique law had place in Lorrain, it was unalienable from the next heir-male; if the *feminine ſucceſſion*, then that duke himſelf had no title at all to it, but it belonged to the preſent duke even in the life of his uncle. Secondly, that it was invalid, by the French non-performance of the only condition on their ſide, upon which the old duke pretended to have made it: which was, That the princes of that family ſhould be aſſumed into the rank of princes of the blood in France; and, that upon regiſtring that treaty of 1662 in the parliament of Paris, without that clauſe, the old duke had declared it void within three weeks after it was made. Thirdly, that a treaty was concluded the year after, being 1663, at Marſal, between the moſt chriſtian king and the ſaid duke; by which he was to continue in the poſſeſſion of all his territories, beſides Marſal, in the ſame manner as he enjoyed them by the treaty of 1661, as he did till the ſeizure of them by France in 1670, during a profound peace, and with the profeſſions above mentioned made by France to his majeſty at that time (as monſieur Serinchamps averred) as well as to the other courts of Chriſtendom.

Theſe arguments were of ſuch force with all the confederates, that they were unanimous and firm in poſitively inſiſting upon the paſſports of that duke, with the uſual forms; and the more, ſince France had advanced a pretence to that duchy, which was never thought of before among the allies. The Auſtrian miniſters told me frankly, that the treaty ſhould never be without this allowance of the duke of Lorrain's title, nor the peace without his reſtitution. The States ſaid, they, for their parts, would willingly refer this, and

and any other matters concerning the treaty, to his majesty's arbitration; but that they were bound already by other treaties to their allies; and particularly to the duke of Lorrain; and could not break from them upon a point of such apparent right as this. The prince spoke the same language, and said further, that he was bound by his oath of Stadtholder, among other things, to endeavour to the utmost of his power to keep the States to the due observance of their treaties; and so, by the grace of God, he would do in this as well as in others.

All this being signified to his majesty, and by him to France, that court continued peremptory in the matter; and, the allies persisting in the same disposition, the congress began to be looked upon from all sides as a thing ended before it began. The allies took this pretence for a declaration from France of their resolution there should be no treaty at present; and grounded it upon some great expectation or design they had upon further progresses in Sicily, or new ones in Naples; or else from hopes of bringing in the Poles to the assistance of Sweden.

But the truth was, that France had been forced to discover upon this incident what they had always at heart: and I ever observed in the course of all these negotiations, that there were three points for which France thought the war worth continuing to the last extremity; which were, rather than restore Lorrain, or Burgundy, or leave a good frontier on both sides of the Spanish territories in Flanders. The two first would hinder the progress of their great design, whether of extending their empire only to the Rhine, or beyond it: the last would hinder their conquest of Flanders, whenever they pursued the finishing of that adventure, by leaving a passage for the Germans to relieve it, and by so great and dangerous a diversion as entering France through Lorrain or Burgundy.

His

His majesty most certainly disapproved, and was surprised with this pretence of France to the duchy of Lorrain; but yet was prevailed with by monsieur de Ruvigny to offer the expedient of his majesty, as mediator, giving all passports necessary to the congress at Nimeguen. Monsieur Van Beuninghen in this matter acted the part rather of a burgomaster of Amsterdam, than an ambassador of the States; and to make court to that town, which began to express great impatience for the peace, he assured his majesty, that his masters could not fail of consenting to this expedient. I foresaw it would be refused, and gave his majesty notice of it before I proposed it to the States, as thinking his honour, and that of the mediation, concerned in such a refusal; but, receiving direct orders to propose it, I did so. The States told me, they would of themselves consent to this, or whatever else his majesty should propose; but, having communicated it to their allies, they would not hear of it; some refusing it with heat, and reflecting upon his majesty's partiality to France; others with sullenness and silence, referring themselves to new orders from their masters.

Hereupon the congress grew wholly desperate, and all parties prepared for the field without any other view for the three months following the first rise of this pretension. In the mean time there passed a fight between the French, and Dutch and Spanish ships, near Messina; wherein De Ruyter was shot in the heel by a cannon-bullet, of which he died within few days after, and determined the greatest loss to have certainly happened on that side, by that of the ablest sea-captain of his age, and the best servant that any prince or state could have: for the rest, the advantage was not considerable on either part in this fight, nor the consequence material in the progress of the French arms in Sicily, or in any prospect of great enterprises upon Naples. On the other side, the Swedish affairs went

went very ill in Pomerania, and were threatened with great invaſions the following campaign, both from Denmark and Brandenburg. This decried the counſels of thoſe perſons that engaged them in this quarrel. Two ambaſſadors, count Oxenſtiern and Olivecrans, were appointed for the treaty at Nimeguen, who had ever been of the ſentiments of the faction which now began to prevail in the Swediſh court: they grew impatient for a peace, and for the treaty in order to it; they declared their diſapproval of the French pretenſion raiſed to Lorrain, which ſeemed only to obſtruct it; and that they would ſend their miniſters to the congreſs, whether the French came or no: and their commiſſary at the Hague ſo well ſeconded theſe new diſpoſitions of his court, that, whilſt the congreſs looked deſperate by the declared obſtinacy of both ſides upon the point of Lorrain, ſhips and paſſports were diſpatched by the States, with conſent of their allies to fetch the Swediſh ambaſſador from Gottenburg into Holland.

The confederates were beſides much animated in their hopes, from the diſpoſitions and humours expreſſed in a late ſeſſion of parliament in England; which grew ſo high againſt the French, or at leaſt, upon that pretence, againſt the preſent conduct of his majeſty or his miniſters, that the king prorogued them about Chriſtmas, before any of the matters projected by the warm men amongſt the houſe of commons were brought into form.

The French were upon their march into Flanders, and that king at the head of a great and brave army threatened ſome great enterpriſe. The prince was preparing to go away into the field, with reſolution and hopes of having the honour of a battle at the opening of the campaign; all thoughts of the congreſs meeting before the end of it were laid aſide; when about the middle of May I was extremely ſurpriſed

priſed to receive a packet from ſecretary Williamſon, with the French paſſports for the duke of Lorrain's miniſters, in the form and with the ſtyles demanded by the allies. And hereupon, all difficulties being removed, the paſſports were exchanged by the end of May.

Some days were loſt by a new demand of the allies for paſſports likewiſe for the duke of Newburg's miniſters, who was newly entered into the common alliance; and the ſame paces were expected likewiſe from the duke of Bavaria (at leaſt ſo the Germans flattered themſelves or their friends.) Upon this, ſome of the miniſters of the allies at the Hague, whoſe maſters were very unwilling the congreſs ſhould begin before the campaign ended, prevailed with the States to ſend deputies to me, to demand paſſports for the duke of Newburg, and any other princes that ſhould enter into their alliance; and to declare, that, if theſe were refuſed by France, they would look upon what had been already granted as void.

I was ſomething ſurpriſed at ſo unexpected a meſſage from the States; and told their deputies, That ſuch a reſolution was unpracticable; that his majeſty had undertaken to procure paſſports for the parties engaged in the war, and all the allies they had named on both ſides, which was done, and thereupon the congreſs ready to begin; and ſuch a delay, as this would occaſion, was both a diſreſpect to his majeſty, and that could not be conſented to by France, nor the reciprocal of it by any of the allies that foreſaw the conſequences which might happen upon it: that ſome ally of France might fall off to the confederates, or ſome of the confederates to France; and with ſuch circumſtances, as it could not be expected either of them ſhould think fit to give paſſports, or treat with them at the congreſs; nor was it a thing in any form, to demand paſſports without naming for whom they ſhould

ſhould be. After ſeveral other exceptions, the deputies deſired me to let them repreſent my reaſons againſt it to the States, and to expect their anſwer till the next afternoon; and one of them told me, as he went out, that I had all the reaſon in the world, and that they had been too eaſy in it upon the inſtances of ſome allies. Next day the deputies came to let me know the States had altered their reſolution, and deſired only, that his majeſty would procure paſſports for the duke of Newburg's miniſters; which I eaſily undertook. This change had not paſſed without violent heats between the States deputies and the miniſters of ſome allies, who preſſed them ſo far, that one of the deputies anſwered him, *Que pretendez vous donc, meſſieurs, de nous faire dechirer par la canaille?* [Do you intend then, gentlemen, to make us be torn in pieces by the rabble?] Which ſhews the diſpoſition that ran ſo generally at this time throughout the trading provinces towards a peace.

There remained now but one preliminary undetermined, which was, To fix ſome extent of neutral country about the place of congreſs. France would have extended it two leagues round; the allies would have it bounded on one ſide by the river Waal, upon which Nimeguen ſtood, and was divided by it from the Betuwe, a part of the province of Holland, and through which lay the ſtraight road into the reſt of that country. Both theſe propoſals were grounded upon the ſame reaſon: that of France, to facilitate the commerce of their ambaſſadors with the towns of Holland, incite the deſires, and enter into practices of peace diſtinct from the motions of the congreſs: that of the allies, to prevent or incumber the too eaſy and undiſcovered paſſage of the French emiſſaries upon this occaſion. However, both were poſitive in their opinions; ſo as this matter came not to be determined till ſome time after the congreſs began, and but lamely then,

CHAP.

## CHAP. II.

THE prince was now ready to go into the field, and told me, That, before he went, he must have some talk with me in private, and at leisure; and to that purpose desired it might be in the garden of Honslaerdyck. We appointed the hour, and met accordingly. He told me, I would easily believe, that, being the only son that was left of his family, he was often pressed by his friends to think of marrying, and had many persons proposed to him, as their several humours led them: that, for his own part, he knew it was a thing to be done at one time or other; but that he had hitherto excused the thoughts of it, otherwise than in general, till the war was ended: that, besides his own friends, the deputies of the States began to press him more earnestly every day, and the more, as they saw the war like to continue; and perhaps they had more reason to do it than any others: that he had at last promised them he would think of it more seriously and particularly, and so he had, and resolved he would marry; but the choice of a person he thought more difficult: that he found himself inclined to no proposals had been made him out of France or Germany, nor indeed to any that had been mentioned upon this occasion by any of his friends, but that of England: that, before he concluded to make any paces that way, he was resolved to have my opinion upon two points, but yet would not ask it, unless I promised to answer him as a friend, or at least an indifferent person, and not as the king's ambassador. When I told him he should be obeyed, he went on, and said, That he would confess to me, during the late war, neither the States, nor he in particular, were without applications from several persons, and considerable, in England,

England, who would fain have engaged them to head the diſcontents that were raiſed by the conduct of the court in that whole war, which he knew was begun and carried on quite contrary to the humour of the nation, and might perhaps have proved very dangerous to the crown, if it had not ended as it did: that all theſe perſons, who pretended to be much his friends, were extremely againſt any thoughts of his marrying in England; their reaſons were, That he would by it loſe all the eſteem and intereſt he had there, and be believed to have run wholly into the diſpoſitions and deſigns of the court, which were generally thought ſo different from thoſe of the nation, eſpecially upon the point of religion, that his friends there did not believe the government could be long without ſome great diſturbance, unleſs they changed their meaſures, which was not eſteemed very likely to be done: and upon this he deſired my thoughts as a friend. The next was upon the perſon and diſpoſitions of the young lady; for though it would not paſs in the world for a prince to ſeem concerned in thoſe particulars; yet, for himſelf, he would tell me without any ſort of affectation, that he was ſo, and in ſuch a degree, that no circumſtances of fortune or intereſt would engage him, without thoſe of the perſon, eſpecially thoſe of humour and diſpoſitions: that he might, perhaps, not be very eaſy for a wife to live with; he was ſure he ſhould not to ſuch wives as were generally in the courts of this age: that if he ſhould meet with one to give him trouble at home, 'twas what he ſhould not be able to bear, who was like to have enough abroad in the courſe of his life: and that, after the manner he was reſolved to live with a wife, which ſhould be the beſt he could, he would have one that he thought likely to live well with him, which he thought chiefly depended on her diſpoſition and education; and if I knew any thing particular of the lady Mary in theſe points, he deſired me to tell him freely.

I anſwered his highneſs, That I was very glad to find he was reſolved to marry, being what he owed his family and friends: that I was much more pleaſed that his inclination led him to endeavour it in England: that I thought it as much for his intereſt, as others of his Engliſh friends thought it was againſt it: that the king and his highneſs would ever be able to do one another more good, and more harm, than any other princes could do either of them, by being friends or enemies: that it was a great ſtep to be one degree nearer the crown, and in all appearance the next: that for his friends (as they pretended in England) they muſt ſee much farther than I did, to believe the king in any ſuch dangers or difficulties as they imagined: that the crown of England ſtood upon ſurer foundations than ever it had done in former times, and the more for what had paſſed in the laſt reign; and that I believed the people would be found better ſubjects than perhaps the king himſelf believed them: that it was however in his power to be as well with them as he pleaſed, and to make as ſhort turns to ſuch an end; if not, yet, with the help of a little good huſbandry, he might paſs his reign in peace, though not perhaps with ſo much eaſe at home, or glory abroad, as if he fell into the vein of his people: that if the court were of ſentiments different from thoſe of his highneſs, yet his adviſers would make him a greater compliment in believing him as likely to induce the court to his, as in concluding they would bring him to theirs; and, if that ſhould happen, the moſt ſeditious men in England would be hard put to it to find an ill ſide in ſuch a match. That, for the other point, I could ſay nothing to it, but that I had always heard my wife and my ſiſter ſpeak with all the advantage that could be of what they could diſcern in a princeſs ſo young, and more from what they had been told by the governeſs, with whom they had a particular friendſhip, and who, they were

were ſure, took all the care that could be in ſo much of education as fell to her ſhare.

After two hours diſcourſe upon this ſubject, the prince concluded he would enter upon this purſuit, and, in order to it, would write both to the king and the duke, to beg their favour to him in it, and their leave that he might go over into England at the end of the campaign: that my wife, who was then going over upon my private affairs, ſhould carry and deliver both his letters; and, during her ſtay there, ſhould endeavour to inform herſelf the moſt particularly ſhe could of all that concerned the perſon, humour, and diſpoſitions of the young princeſs, in which he ſeemed ſo much concerned.

Within two or three days after theſe diſcourſes, the prince brought his letters to my wife, and went immediately to the army; and ſhe went immediately after into England with thoſe diſpatches, and left me preparing for my journey to Nimeguen, where the Dutch firſt, and after them the French ambaſſadors were arrived, and conſequently thoſe of the two principal parties in the war.

Before I went, Du Moulin met my chaplain in the Voorhout, and told him he was ſo ill, that he knew he had not long to live; and that he could not die in quiet, without aſking my pardon for ſo many falſe and injurious things as he confeſſed to have ſaid of me ſince my laſt embaſſy in Holland, though he had before had all the eſteem that could be for me. He deſired my chaplain, ſince I had always refuſed to ſee him, that he would do this office for him, and aſked my pardon as from a dying man. This Moulin, after having been much employed and favoured by my lord Arlington during the counſels and vogue of the triple alliance, and diſgraced by him after the change of thoſe meaſures in England, went over into Holland, was entertained by the prince as one of his ſecretaries, grew

into great favour and confidence during the war, was made uſe of by the malecontents of England in their applications at the Hague; and was thought worth all my lord Arlington's inſtances and endeavours when he was at the Hague, to remove him from the prince's ſervice. I received afterwards commands to the ſame purpoſe, and compaſſed it not without time and difficulty: he had not been long laid aſide when this happened; and whether that, or the knowledge of the prince's late reſolution to purſue the match in England, helped to break his heart; or whether it were a conſumption, as his friends gave out, I know not; but he died ſoon after, and with him the intrigues of that party in England, that had for ſome time employed him, and buſied his friends in Holland.

After many delays in the diſpatch and exchange of the paſſports I got looſe from the Hague about the beginning of July 1676, upon my journey to Nimeguen; where the French and Dutch ambaſſadors, being already arrived, preſſed very much for my coming, in regard Sir Lionel Jenkins excuſed himſelf from performing any acts or offices of the mediation till my arrival, and contented himſelf to paſs only the uſual viſits. The diſpoſitions I obſerved in the ſeveral parties towards the ſucceſs of this congreſs, when I went in order to the opening of it, were very different, and very unlikely to draw it to any ſudden iſſue; but only to attend and be governed by the ſucceſſes of the ſeveral armies in the field, and the events expected from the actions of the campaign. The French had given all the facility they could for ſome months paſt to the forming of the congreſs, and made all the haſte they could for their ambaſſadors to be upon the place, deſiring no better peace than upon the preſent plan of affairs; and hoping by their forwardneſs, and the great backwardneſs of ſome of the allies,

lies, to make way for ſome ſeparate treaties with thoſe among them who began to be impatient for the peace. The houſe of Auſtria was ſullen, as loſers uſe to be, and ſo were very ſlow and reſty in all their paces towards this treaty; the Germans hoping for great ſucceſſes of their arms in this campaign, and the Spaniards flattering themſelves with the intereſts his majeſty had in the preſervation of Flanders, and with the part which the parliament in England ſeemed of late to have taken in their affairs; and both were in hopes that ſomething might ariſe from one of theſe ſides, to make room for pretenſions that could not be in countenance as things ſtood at preſent. The Swede was very earneſt for a peace, as having more hopes of recovering himſelf that way, than by the courſe of a war. Denmark and Brandenburg were violent for continuing the war; finding the Swedes weak, divided, and unrelievable by France any otherwiſe than with their moneys, and hoping to drive them this ſummer out of Germany. The States were very deſirous of the peace, having no pretences of their own, but to get well out of a war that ruined their trade, and drained their money; but they durſt not break from their confederates, not truſting England enough, nor France at all, ſo as to leave themſelves in a condition of depending upon either of them after the peace ſhould be made. One general thread ran through the counſels on both ſides; on the French, to break the confidence and union of the confederacy by different paces and advances to the ſeveral parties in the courſe of the treaty; on the confederates, to preſerve the ſame confidence and union with which they had carried on the war, even after the peace ſhould be made. His majeſty, though he was offered by ſome of the parties to be arbiter, as well as mediator, in the preſent differences; and was known by them all to have it in his power to make that figure as he pleaſed; yet choſe the other, and gave

us orders accordingly, only to perform the offices of a bare mediation, and to avoid the parties ſubmitting their differences to his determination: ſo that, upon the whole, it was eaſy to foreſee the congreſs would only prove a buſineſs of form; and proceed no otherwiſe than as it ſhould be moved, or rather governed, by the events of the field.

However, the opening of it might well be called the dawn of a peace; which put me in mind of the only prophecy of this ſort that I have ever thought worth taking notice of, nor ſhould I have done ſo, but that monſieur Colbert ſhewed it me at my coming to Nimeguen, and made me remember to have ſeen it in my lord Arlington's hands in the year 1668, who told me it was very old, and had been found in ſome abbey of Germany. It was in theſe terms:

*Lilium intrabit in terram leonis, feras in brachiis gerens; aquila movebit alas, et in auxilium veniet filius hominis ab auſtro: tunc erit ingens bellum per totum terrarum orbem; ſed poſt quatuor annos pax eluceſcet, et ſalus erit filio hominis unde exitium putabatur.*

"The lily ſhall invade the land of the lion, bearing "wild beaſts in its arms; the eagle ſhall move its "wings, and the ſon of man ſhall come to his aſſiſtance "from the ſouth: then there ſhall be great war "throughout the world; but after four years peace "ſhall dawn, and the ſon of man be delivered by "thoſe from whom his ruin was expected."

Thoſe, who have a mind to give credit to ſuch prophecies from the courſe of events, muſt allow the leopards (the ancient arms of England) to be meant by the wild beaſts; the king of Spain by the ſon of man; the congreſs at Nimeguen (four years after the war began) by the dawn of peace; and Spain's having been ſaved

ſaved by the States and the prince of Orange, by thoſe from whom its ruin was expected. But I eaſily believe, that as moſt prophecies, which run in the world, ariſe from the contrivances of crafty, or the dreams of enthuſiaſtical heads; and the ſenſe of them (where there is any) lies wrapped up in myſtical or incoherent expreſſions, fit to receive many ſorts of interpretations; and ſome perhaps from the leiſure of great wits that are ill employed, and ſeek diverſion to themſelves by writing things at random with the ſcornful thought of amuſing the world about nothing; ſo others are broached for old, either after events happen, or when they are ſo probable as to be eaſily conjectured by foreſeeing men: and it ſeems ſtrange, that of the firſt kind (being ſo many) no more happen to be fulfilled, with the help of ſo much inclination to believe, as well as ſo much invention to wreſt the meaning of words to the ſenſe pretended. But whether this I mention may not have been one of the laſt kind is uncertain; for in that very year it was produced, and given my lord Arlington by a Frenchman (as he told me) the deſign of this war was not only laying, but well advanced by the practices of monſieur Colbert upon the miniſters of our court (where he was then ambaſſador) and by the violent humour of my lord Clifford to enter into the leagues then projected by France; ſo that, the very day the parliament gave his majeſty a mighty ſum of money, to compliment him upon ſo applauded a counſel and ſucceſs as that of the triple alliance in the year 1668, that lord, coming out of the houſe of commons, where he was then a member, could not hold ſaying to a friend of mine who came out with him, That, for all this great joy, it muſt not be long before we have another war with Holland. And of which of theſe two prophecies were the more to be conſidered, or the better inſpired, I leave it to every one to gueſs as they pleaſe.

Nimeguen is ſeated upon the ſide of a hill, which is the laſt of Germany; and ſtoops upon the river Waal, which waſhes the lower part of the town, and divides it from the Betuwe, an iſland lying all upon flat low ground, between the Waal and the old Rhine, which was the ancient ſeat of thoſe the Romans called Batavians, and, for their bravery and love of liberty, took into their confederacy, when they ſubjected all the neighbouring parts of Gaul and Germany. Betuwe and Waal were the ancient German names, and turned into Batavia and Vahalis by the Roman terminations, as Cologn and Cleves are Roman names changed into German. Betuwe ſignifies, in the old German, fat earth, as Veluwe (a great heathy country on t'other ſide the Rhine) does coarſe or barren earth. Whether Nimeguen came from Neomagum, or Neomagum from Nimeguen, I cannot determine; but the old caſtle, as well as many antiquities found about it, ſhew it to have been a colony of the Romans; and it is ſeated in very good air encompaſſed on three ſides by great and dry heaths, is well built, and inhabited by a good ſort of people.

I excuſed myſelf from letting the magiſtrates of Nimeguen know what time I deſigned my arrival there, though they ſent to inform themſelves while I was upon the way; and I refuſed any ceremonies at entry, to prevent that pretence in other ambaſſadors, and the troubles and diſturbances ſuch public receptions might occaſion. However I could not eſcape ſome part of it, for which I had like to have paid a great deal more than it was worth. The river of Nimeguen is very rapid in the midſt of the ſtream, which lies near the town, and ſpreads very broad upon the other ſide to the Betuwe, being upon flat grounds. The firſt part of it is paſſed by a very large ferry-boat, which held at once my two coaches and ſix horſes, one

one waggon, and my trunks, eight saddle-horses, and would have received many more. This boat is of a contrivance so singular, as well as so commodious, that I have much wondered never to have seen it practised in any other place; for the force of the stream drives the boat cross the river without the least pains of the men, being kept to its course by a strong cable extended from one side to the other, and fastened to a pully set up for that purpose in the boat; so that no stress of weather hinders this passage, and the harder the stream runs, the sooner it is made. Where the river grows shallow, and the current slack, on the Betuwe side, it is supplied by a bridge of planks for about two hundred paces, which are ill kept, many loose or shaking, and no defence on the sides. When my coaches were upon this bridge, the cannon of the town began to fire, and so continued all the while I was upon the river; which was a piece of civility well understood; but my horses were so unruly with that noise, and the clatter of the planks, that they were much likelier to have carried me into the river than into the boat. But when, with the help of my servants on foot that led them, we got in there, we were safe as in a house, and got well away to the town where I landed at Sir Lionel Jenkin's house, and staid there till late in the evening, to avoid any visits or ceremonies that night.

The next day I was visited by the French ambassadors. With monsieur D'Avaux passed little but what was common upon such occasions: But the marshal D'Estrades and monsieur Colbert being of my particular acquaintance in my former embassies at the Hague and Aix la Chapelle, they pretended, in their first separate visits, to enter with me upon points and terms of great confidence, and upon matters that gave me light into the whole design of France intended by the steps of this treaty, to which they had of late shewed so great

forwardneſs, at leaſt in the forming of this congreſs, and diſpatch of their ambaſſadors, before thoſe of the allies were in any motion, or perhaps diſpoſition towards it. They both told me, That they had expreſs and private orders from the king their maſter, to make me particular compliments upon the eſteem his moſt chriſtian majeſty had for my perſon, and to make their application wholly to me in the courſe of this negotiation, though one of us miniſters mediators came from reſiding in their own court; but they knew very well I had the king my maſter's confidence as well as that of his miniſters; and, that having had the framing of this congreſs from the firſt overtures, and through all the preliminaries, there was no other hand but mine capable of finiſhing it; and therefore they preſaged me all the glory of it: that I might reckon upon all the facility their maſter could give towards it; but that after ſuch ſucceſſes in the war, and at the head of ſo great forces both at land and ſea, it could not be expected he ſhould yield to reſtore what his arms had conquered. On the other ſide, they knew very well, that though the States were bent upon the peace, yet the forwardneſs or extravagant demands of their allies would engage them as long as they could in the war, unleſs the prince of Orange would interpoſe his authority, which was ſo great with all the allies, that they were ſure of their conſenting to whatever terms the prince ſhould be reſolute in propoſing for the peace: that, to draw it therefore to a happy iſſue, there was no way but for his highneſs firſt to agree privately with France upon the conditions, and what every party ſhould content themſelves with; and afterwards, in the courſe of the treaty, to draw all things, by concert together, to the ſcope agreed between them; in which the prince might make uſe of the known temper of the States to bring it to a ſudden iſſue, and to make a ſeparate peace, in caſe the

unreaſonable pretences of their allies ſhould hinder or delay a general one: that this part was acted by the elector of Bavaria at Munſter, who was in private concert with France through the whole proceedings of that treaty, though he went on with the allies in the public tranſactions: that he owed the greatneſs of his houſe to this counſel, and to the conſideration and ſupport it had ever ſince received from the crown of France: that, by purſuing the ſame at Nimeguen, it would be in the prince of Orange's power to do the ſame for himſelf and his family; and that, for what concerned his own perſonal intereſts and advantages, their maſter had given them power to aſſure him, he ſhould have carte blanche, and draw his own conditions upon it: that though they had other ways of making this overture to the prince, yet they had order to do it by none but me, if I would charge myſelf with it: that they knew the credit and confidence I was in with the prince, and how far he would defer to my opinions in what concerned the public intereſts of his allies as well as his own: and that, if I would eſpouſe this affair, beſides the glory of having alone given a peace to Chriſtendom, I might reckon upon what I pleaſed myſelf from the bounty and generoſity of the king their maſter.

This was the ſum of what was ſaid by them both, though in ſeveral and private viſits; but I obſerved monſieur Colbert to have been inſtructed with more particular confidence, and to deſign it with me, even apart from both his collegues and mine, in the purſuit of this intelligence; but monſieur D'Eſtrades valued himſelf chiefly upon his entering into it with me preferable to all others, though he had ſeveral other ways of doing it with the prince, as well as into what practices he ſhould think fit with the States, by the help of ſo many friendſhips and habitudes as I knew

he

he had contracted in Holland, during so long a course of employments there.

I answered, That I was obliged to his most christian majesty for his good opinion, and to them for having given it him, not having myself at all the honour of being known to him: that I should make no ill use of this great honour and confidence, whether I should be able to make a good one or not: that, for his majesty's dispositions to promote the peace, they knew them as well as I; but that many considerations had engaged him to instruct us the mediators only to promote a general peace, and not to enter into any paces towards any particular one, or separate, between the parties, which such a private and previous concert between France and the prince of Orange would look very like; and therefore I did not see how I could enter upon it without particular orders from the king: that, besides, I would confess to them, that I did not think it would be of any great effect, if I should receive them; and that the best service I could do them (the ambassadors) was to let them know very freely all that I knew, or at least thought, of the prince of Orange, and his dispositions in this great affair, that they might the better guess what paces to expect from him: that I was sure he desired the peace as much as the States could do; that the weak conduct of Spain, and distracted counsels of the Empire, were enough to force him upon it, without many other circumstances that were too well known to trouble them with: that the prince knew very well there would be no difficulty at all in the terms of a peace between France and Holland, and that all would arise from their allies, who had entered into the war only in their defence: that their faith and honour were since engaged by many treaties concluded with them, and which hindered them from making any separate peace: that, in all those treaties, the prince's honour was more particularly engaged,

upon

upon which perſonally the ſeveral confederate princes were known to rely more, than upon any public reſolution or inſtruments of the States: that, if any ways could be found, or offers made towards bringing his highneſs out of this war, with the ſafety of his honour, by the ſatisfaction of his allies, upon any ſort of terms, I was ſure he would fall into them with all the joy that could be; but to break from them, againſt all faith and agreements, by ſeparate meaſures, I believed he would never be induced, but by the laſt extremities of the war, or neceſſities at home: and that, for his own perſonal intereſts, I was confident no advantages to be offered him would ever be conſidered by his highneſs, how great ſoever; but that two or three towns, more or leſs to the Spaniards, for the ſtrength of their frontier in Flanders, would prevail more with him than all could be done for his intereſt in Orange or Burgundy; and that all other propoſitions of advantages more than were avowed in the courſe of the treaty were, I believed, what he would take ill from any that ſhould make them; and yet, whenever I ſaw him next, I would tell him of all that had paſſed in this converſation: but, for the deference they believed his highneſs might have for my ſentiments, I would aſſure them, my opinion was, he had none for mine, or any man's elſe, further than as their arguments prevailed upon his judgment: that he had ſenſe enough to govern himſelf, and I believed he would always truſt to it, though he might adviſe with other men.

After theſe converſations, during the time I ſtaid at Nimeguen, monſieur Colbert made many ſmall attacks of this kind upon me, and ſometimes contented himſelf only to let fall ſome things in converſation, to try if I was diſpoſed to enter further upon that ſubject: But the Mareſchal D'Eſtrades immediately after began to turn his battery another way, which was upon the Penſioner Fagel, by the intervention of a perſon of Maeſtricht,

Maeſtricht, many of whoſe letters the Penſioner ſhewed me upon the ſame occaſion; and with all the offers that could be made of conſideration and advantage to the intereſts of the prince of Orange; which met with no other reception from his highneſs than what I foretold.

After the firſt viſits between us and the French and Dutch ambaſſadors, whom only we found at Nimeguen, we received a viſit from the magiſtates of the town, who told us, they had order from the States to remit the government of the city to our diſpoſition, during the preſent treaty; and to proceed no otherways in it, than according to ſuch orders as they ſhould receive from us the mediators. We told them, it was his majeſty's pleaſure, that we ſhould not at all intermeddle with it, but that, on the contrary, we ſhould conſign into the hands of the ordinary juſtice of the town any of our domeſtics that ſhould be guilty of any crime againſt the peace and government of the place; and that juſtice ſhould be done upon them according to their faults; and that we ſhould not take upon us to withdraw or protect them from the ordinary courſe of juſtice, by the rights and privileges of that character his majeſty had given us.

After this we applied ourſelves to propoſe ſome regulations for the order and quiet of ſo numerous an aſſembly as this was like to prove (in a town but too ſtrait, and compoſed of narrow ſtreets) and to the eſtabliſhment of ſome compaſs of neutral country about it, for the convenience and divertiſement of the company that ſhould compoſe it. For the firſt, we gave in a paper to the French and Dutch ambaſſadors, with certain articles, to which we deſired their conſent; not doubting, but all others, that ſhould come after, would eaſily fall into what they ſhould previouſly agree to upon our deſire. They were theſe, as we gave them in French, the language uſed in all conferences, and moſt papers, that paſſed in this treaty.

1. *Que pour éviter les inconveniens qui pourroient arriver par le grand nombre de trains dans des rues, qui ſont ſi étroites, & entre des coins ſi incommodes, les ambaſſadeurs mediateurs propoſent, de ne faire les viſites, meſme celles de ceremonie, qu'avec chacun ambaſſadeur deux pages & quatre laquais, & un caroſſe, à deux chevaux; & de n'aller à aucune place de conference, ou autres lieux publics avec plus d'un page & deux laquais à chaque ambaſſadeur.*

1. That for avoiding the inconveniencies which may happen by the great number of trains in the ſtreets, which are ſo narrow, and turnings ſo incommodious, the ambaſſadors mediators propoſe, not to make any viſits, even thoſe of ceremony, with more than two pages and four lackeys each ambaſſador; and one coach with two horſes; and not to go to any place of conference, or other public places, with more than one page and two lackeys to every ambaſſador.

2. *Qu'en cas de rencontre de caroſſes dans les lieux trop éſtroits pour le paſſage de l'un & de l'autre, chacun, au-lieux de s'embarraſſer pour le pas, y apportera toute ſorte de facilité, & s'arreſtera le premier quand il ſera le premier averti que le paſſage eſt trop éſtroit, & fera place en cas que de ſon coſté cela ſe trouve le plus facile.*

2. That when coaches meet in too narrow places, where there is not room to paſs by one another, every one, inſtead of contending for precedency, ſhall mind rather to make the paſſage eaſy to each other, and ſtop firſt if he have the firſt notice that the paſſage is too ſtrait, and give place to the other, in caſe it be more eaſy on his ſide.

3. *Que les laquais ne porteront éſpée, baton, ni baguette, par les rues; ni les pages plus que de baguette ſeulement.*

3. That lackeys ſhall not wear a ſword, nor carry a ſtaff or ſtick in the ſtreets; nor pages any more than a little ſtick.

4. *Que les ambaſſadeurs ſur aucun crime commis par aucun de leurs domeſtiques contre la paix publique, renonceront à la protection des dits domeſtiques, & les remettront auſſitoſt entre les mains de la Juſtice de la ville, la prians & autoriſans de pro-*

4. That the ambaſſadors, upon any crime committed againſt the public peace, by any of their domeſtics, ſhall renounce all protection of the ſaid domeſtics, and deliver them up into the hands of the magiſtrates of the city; de-

*ceder*

*ceder contre eux ſelon les regles ordinaires.*

5. *Qu'en cas de quelque inſulte ou quérelle faite par aucun de leurs domeſtiques contre ceux d'aucun autre ambaſſadeur ou miniſtre public, les ambaſſadeurs remettront tels domeſtiques entre les mains du maiſtre de la partie offenſée pour eſtre punis à ſa diſcretion.*

ſiring and authoriſing them to proceed againſt them according to their ordinary rules.

5. That in caſe any inſult or quarrel be made by the domeſtics of one ambaſſador, againſt thoſe of another ambaſſador or public miniſter, the ambaſſadors ſhall deliver up ſuch of their domeſtics into the hands of the maſter of the party offended, to be puniſhed at his diſcretion.

The French ambaſſadors received this paper with much approbation and compliment to us upon the deſign and conception of it, and ſaid they were ready to give their full conſent to every part of it, excepting only the ſecond article; but upon this they could not, without firſt acquainting their maſter, from whom they had orders to maintain, upon all occaſions, the rank that Spain had yielded to them by treaty; ſo that they could not ſtop or make way for the miniſters of that crown, though they would do it for thoſe of Brandenburg. We told them, we doubted not but the Emperor's ambaſſadors would be content to fall into the general rule for ſo good an end; and that for ourſelves the mediators (who were out of all competition by that quality) yet we reſolved to practiſe it with the reſt, and give the example.

The French ambaſſadors ſeemed ſatisfied, in their own opinions; but, however, deſired they might firſt communicate it to their court. The Dutch ambaſſadors wholly approved of it, and reſolved to conform their practices accordingly, unleſs they found other ambaſſadors ſhould decline it. However, about a fortnight after the French ambaſſadors, upon diſpatches from their court, began to change their language;

guage; and told us, That for the first article monsieur de Pompone thought it not necessary to restrain the numbers of ambassadors trains, since they were well provided against disorders by the following articles: that, besides, this would in a manner level the ambassadors of the greatest kings with the ministers of smaller princes, at least in the eyes of the *menu peuple* [*the vulgar*] who measure the dignity of persons by the train that attend them. For the second article, they consent to it, with an apostyle of their own upon it, providing, that it should not prejudice the rights of any princes, nor ever be drawn into consequence in any other place or time. We found by these answers, that the French ambassadors had less vanity than their court, and wondered to find it so avowed, and to descend to circumstances so low and so minute: for though vanity be a weakness, or a fault, that the fewest men are without; yet it is that, of all others, that the fewest will own; and few private men, though perhaps affected with the gazes and opinion of the rabble that fill the streets as they pass, will yet pretend or confess to consider them. However, we thought best to let it pass, and the rather because we knew it was no more the sense of the French ambassadors than ours; for which they had one more particular reason, which was the noise that ran of the magnificent preparations and equipage designed by the marquis de Balbaces and count Antoine towards their appearance in this congress; the first whereof was one of the richest subjects of Spain, heir and descendant of the famous Spinola; and the other had great revenues from the duke of Oldenburg (being his natural son) and was chosen by Denmark on purpose to appear with lustre in this embassy: and the French ambassadors apprehended either being outshined by these at their arrival, or being engaged in greater expences upon the vye than they expected from their court; which usually

leaves

leaves thoſe kinds of ſervices to future rewards by ſucceeding employments and advances, rather than preſent ſupplies. When we received this anſwer from them, we only ſaid monſieur Pompone's reaſoning from the *menu peuple* [*the vulgar*] ſeemed a little below the greatneſs of his maſter, or the ſtyle of a great miniſter; but that we ſhould acquaint the Dutch ambaſſadors with it, that they might be at liberty to retract the conſent they had already given, ſince they, the French, ſeemed to have done ſo; but that, for ourſelves, we would obſerve at leaſt the rules we had propoſed to others, and let them follow either the rules or examples as they pleaſed. The French would by no means allow to have refuſed them, and ſaid, they had only told us monſieur Pompone's reflections upon them; but that they could not abſolutely conſent till they had concerted with their allies, the Swediſh ambaſſadors, whoſe arrival they daily expected. However, though they were by theſe wholly approved, yet the French ambaſſadors, during the aſſembly, made all their firſt viſits with the three ſeveral ambaſſadors coaches and ſix horſes, and the whole number of their train; which ſometimes reached further than the ſpace between their houſes and of the miniſters where the viſit was paid. But we continued to make ours only with two horſes, and the number of ſervants we had propoſed; and the reſt of the rules were obſerved by all with ſo good effect, that, for one whole year I reſided there together, there never happened any diſorder or complaint from ſo numerous trains.

For the neutral country, we at firſt propoſed by concert with the French ambaſſadors, to extend it about three leagues, ſo as to take in the town of Cleves which has been always celebrated for one of the pleaſanteſt ſeats of Germany; but, upon tranſmitting this propoſal to the French court, a reſolution came back to their ambaſſadors, to admit only two leagues from Nimeguen,

guen, and that to continue subject to contribution, and to execution upon failure of that being paid, as was usual to the garrison of Maestricht. This we thought unpracticable with the safety of the ambassadors or their retinues, that should make use of a neutrality subject to inroads of armed troops, upon pretence of contribution, and admitted of many disputes. The French ambassadors had orders from their court to go out of town, upon any occasion of airing and entertainment: the Dutch desired us to let the French know, the States could not be answerable for their doing it safely, till a neutral country were established, without being liable to contribution. After some time, rather than continue prisoners to the town, or venture the inconvenience and danger of parties ranging within the bounds of a neutral country, a compass was agreed, about two English miles from the town; and marked out with several great posts erected to that purpose, within which all persons should have liberty, and no soldier should be suffered to come in upon any pretext whatsoever.

Several pretensions were raised at the opening of this congress (which was reckoned from the time of two mediators arrival upon the place) about the right of several princes to send ambassadors, and many disputes arose upon them. It had been agreed at the treaty of Munster, that every elector should be allowed to send a minister thither, with the character of ambassador; but, if they sent more than one in commission, that the first only should be treated with Excellence, and other ceremonies of ambassadors. This rule we agreed to follow at Nimeguen: and the elector of Brandenburg sent two ambassadors thither; but we treated the first only with the usual ceremonies, and left the other to his pretences and complaints. The French followed our example; and the other ambassadors did some one, some the other, according as their

intereſts engaged them to comply with that elector in this pretence.

Upon admiſſion of the electors to ſend ambaſſadors to the congreſs, the ſame pretence was ſoon after raiſed by the dukes of Lorrain, Neuburg, and Lunenburg: much altercation was uſed upon this ſubject, but the precedents alledged not being found without diſpute, the thing lay quiet, and their envoys arrived after ſome time at Nimeguen.

We agreed, neither to give the firſt viſit, nor the hand in our houſes, to any character under that of ambaſſador; nor to other perſons of quality, that were not either counts of the empire, or general officers of armies.

There was no diſpute about the rank with the mediators, the French having firſt yielded it by order of their court, till the Imperialiſts came, who neither yielded nor refuſed it, but ſeemed deſirous to have that mark of diſtinction allowed between the Emperor's ambaſſadors and thoſe of all other crowned heads. We held on our pretence of it from theſe, as well as the reſt; but kept it from coming to any deciſion till the very ſigning of the treaty; finding the Emperor not inclined to yield it, and knowing, that, if it were refuſed there, the admiſſion granted by the reſt might come to be retracted upon that example.

The other ambaſſadors were left to their uſual pretences; the French, that all ſhould yield to them; and the reſt, of none yielding to one another; in which the Swedes carried the point, even with their allies the French, as nicely and poſitively as any others.

The Swedes arrived about the middle of Auguſt, ſent firſt to us, and then to the French, to notify their arrival. This happened late in the evening; ſo we deferred our compliments and deſires of an hour till next morning. The French made theirs the ſame night to monſieur Oxenſtiern, the firſt in commiſſion, who

gave

gave them an hour the next morning; and to our secretaries, who came to them about that time, they gave an hour in the afternoon. The visits were made accordingly; but, upon our insisting that the first visit ought to be returned to the mediators, from whomsoever the first should be received; the Swedish ambassadors, after some time to consider it, determined the point, and made us the first visit, though the French had first made it to them. And this was observed by the ambassadors that afterwards arrived, during my residence there.

I remember no other points of the ceremonial, that seemed to have been established by the course of this assembly, unless it was one particular to ourselves, who declared that we would dine with no ambassador till the peace was concluded, being desirous to avoid the troubles and engagements of perpetual invitations, as well as the unkindness of excuses at one time, or to some person more than another; but our own tables were open, each of us three days in the week, two post-days being reserved to ourselves for business, and one for diversion or exercise abroad; and several of the ambassadors, especially the French, came to our tables, notwithstanding this resolution, which they seemed to take a little to heart. But, to make amends, we divided the nights by turns. Where there were any ladies in the ambassadors houses, and where the evenings were spent in dancing or play, or careless and easy suppers or collations; in these entertainments, as I seldom failed of making a part, and my collegue never had any, so it gave occasion for a good saying that passed upon it, *Que la mediation éstoit tousjours en pied pour faire sa function*, [That the mediation was always in a posture to go on with its business;] for I used to go to bed, and rise late; while my collegue was a-bed by eight, and up by four: and to say truth, two more

different men were never joined in one commiſſion, nor agreed better in it,

For buſineſs, there was very little for many months after the congreſs began, till the arrival of the Imperial miniſters; only the French ambaſſadors, ſoon after my coming, demanding an audience, came to make us the offer of exhibiting their *plein-pouvoirs* [full powers] into our hands, not doubting, as they ſaid, of the Dutch being ready to do the ſame. But, upon our acquainting the Dutch ambaſſadors with this overture, they told us, that it was in the choice of the French ambaſſadors to do it when they pleaſed; but they did not conceive the haſtening of it would gain any time, ſince they had no orders to make that pace without a previous concert with their allies; and conſequently, though the French ſhould do it, yet they would, at preſent, neither exhibit their own, nor make any reflections (as might be neceſſary) upon thoſe of the French. From this anſwer, the French took occaſion to preſs the Dutch extremely upon making inſtances to all their allies to haſten to the treaty, or elſe to declare that they would enter into affairs without them; and not without ſome intimation of their maſter's being reſolved to recall them, in caſe this was refuſed, or much longer delayed. The Dutch excuſed the retardments given to the treaty ſo long, by the many difficulties raiſed by the French court upon occaſion of the paſſports, which were not yet diſpatched to ſome of their new allies; but, however, promiſed to acquaint the States with theſe inſtances, and endeavour to diſpoſe them to fix ſome time, by which they would order their ambaſſadors to enter into matter, unleſs the miniſters of the allies were arrived at Nimeguen.

In theſe, and ſeveral other points, interceding between the French and Dutch ambaſſadors, we carried the propoſals and anſwers from one to the other, at their houſes by word of mouth; which continued till the

the aſſembly was completed, and a place of conference, with much difficulty, agreed at the ſtadthouſe of Nimeguen; where, after many difficulties between the two confederacies, and many more between the parties that compoſed each of them, two chambers were at length agreed for the parties, and one for the mediators, by which our pains were leſſened, but without other advantage; nor was there any point that gave us more trouble than the adjuſting this among the parties: for the French were, from the very firſt, moſt declaredly averſe from treating, either by writings, or from agreeing to a place of publick conference; conceiving this would tend to keep the body of the confederacy united in the treaty, as well as the war; whereas their deſign was to break that union here, which they could not in the field, and find ſome way or other of entering into ſeparate meaſures for a peace with ſome of the parties engaged. In the mean time the allies found, or took, as many occaſions as they could, of delaying the diſpatch of their miniſters to the congreſs, while they had hopes of hindering the Dutch from proceeding without them; and that they believed might be done till this campaign ſhould end; from the events whereof the ſeveral princes might the better take their meaſures for the conditions of a peace that ſhould be propoſed or inſiſted on in this treaty. And this diſpoſition of theirs was ſo well purſued, that no other ambaſſadors arrived at Nimeguen till November; though we and the French, and the Dutch, had been ſo long upon the place, and the Swedes ſoon after us.

In the mean time the ſucceſſes of the campaign, that were expected abſolutely to govern the motions of the treaty, were various as to the groſs of the war, but ran as high to the advantage of the French, as to the diſadvantage of the Swediſh affairs. By force of great treaſures, and great order in diſpoſing them, the

French magazines were always filled in the winter, ſo as to enable them to take the field as they pleaſed in the ſpring, without fearing the weather for their foot, or expecting graſs for their horſe. On the other ſide, the Spaniards want of money and order, left their troops in Flanders, neither capable to act by themſelves, upon any ſudden attempt, nor to ſupply with proviſions in their march either Dutch or Germans that ſhould come to their relief. Their towns were ill fortified, and worſe defended; ſo that the king of France, marching in the head of a brave and numerous army, took Condé in four days, in the month of April, this year 1676, before any of the confederates were in the field; and in May ſent the duke of Orleans to beſiege Bouchain, with ſome part of his troops, being a ſmall, though ſtrong place, and very conſiderable for its ſituation to the defence of the Spaniſh Netherlands. The king, with the ſtrength of his army, poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, as to hinder the prince of Orange from being able to relieve it, or to fight without diſadvantage.

The prince ſtruggled through all the difficulties from the ſeaſon, or want of proviſions and magazines in Flanders, and marched with his army in ſight of the French king by the middle of May. The armies continued ſome days facing one another, and ſeveral times drawing out in order to a battle, which neither of them thought fit to begin; whether not willing to hazard, without neceſſity or advantage, ſo deciſive an action as this was like to prove; or whether the French contented themſelves to carry their point by hindering the relief of Bouchain, which muſt fall without it; while the prince of Orange was withheld by the Spaniards from purſuing his, which was to give a battle that the Spaniards knew could not be loſt without the loſs of Flanders. The armies continued facing one another till Bouchain was ſurrendered the eighth day of the

the ſiege. The prince returned to refreſh his army, harraſſed with ſo haſty a march upon ſo ſudden preparations; and the king of France returned home, leaving his army under the marſhal de Schomberg, to attend the motions of the enemies. The prince fell into concert with the Spaniards and German princes near the lower Rhine for the ſiege of Maeſtricht; which, though the ſtrongeſt of the Dutch frontiers when it was taken, had been yet fortified by the French ſince they poſſeſſed it, with all the advantages of art and expence, and with a garriſon of eight thouſand choſen men, under Calvo, a reſolute Catalonian, who commanded there under the marſhal D'Eſtrades governor of the place, but then at Nimeguen.

About the end of July the trenches were opened by the prince, and the ſiege carried on with ſuch bravery, ſo many and deſperate aſſaults, for about three weeks; that as wagers were continually offered, with odds, at Nimeguen, that it would be taken within ſuch or ſuch a time, ſo we did not obſerve the marſhal D'Eſtrades was willing to take them, or ſeemed at all confident it would be ſo well defended. The prince, and the Rhingrave (who was deſigned for governor of the town, as his father had been) were ever in the head of the attacks; and made great uſe, as well as proof, of the deſperate courage of the Engliſh troops, upon all thoſe occaſions: Many of the outworks were taken, with great ſlaughter on both ſides; but were ſupplied by new retrenchments, and by all the art and induſtry of a reſolute captain, and brave ſoldiers within. About the middle of Auguſt, the prince, expoſing himſelf upon all occaſions, received a muſket ſhot in his arm; at which perceiving theſe about him were daunted, he immediately pulled off his hat with the arm that was hurt, and waved it about his head, to ſhew the wound was but in the fleſh, and the bone ſafe; at which they all revived, and the prince went on without interruption

in all the paces of the ſiege. But a cruel ſickneſs falling into his army, weakened it more than all the aſſaults they had given the town. The Germans came not up with the ſupplies they had promiſed, and upon which aſſurance the ſiege was undertaken; and the Rhingrave, who, next the prince, was the ſpring of this action, happening to be wounded ſoon after, was forced to leave the camp for a caſtle in the neighbourhood, where he died: by all which the army grew diſheartened, and the ſiege faint. In the mean time, monſieur de Schomberg, who truſted to a vigorous defence at Maeſtricht, had beſieged and taken Aire; and, after the prince's army was weakened by the accidents of the ſiege, marched with all the French forces thro' the heart of the Spaniſh Low-Countries, to the relief of Maeſtricht; upon whoſe approach, and the reſolutions of a council of war in the prince's camp, the ſiege was raiſed, and with it the campaign ended in the Dutch or Spaniſh provinces. And from this time the prince of Orange began to deſpair of any ſucceſs in the war, after ſuch trials and experience of ſuch weakneſs in the Spaniſh forces and conduct, and uncertainty in the German counſels or reſolutions.

However, the Imperial army took Philipſburg in the end of September this year 1676; which was yielded for want of proviſions, and as much againſt common opinion and expectation, as the contrary event in the ſiege of Maeſtricht.

The affairs of Denmark and Brandenburg proſpered all this while againſt Sweden, with advantage in moſt of the ſieges and encounters that paſſed this ſummer, and the firſt part of the winter following, ſo that the Swedes ſeemed to be loſing apace all they had ſo long poſſeſſed in Germany: But the Imperial forces, though joined by thoſe of the ſeveral princes upon the upper Rhine, had made no progreſs in their deſigned conqueſts there, and were forced to ſeek their old quar-

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ters on the German side of the Rhine upon the approach of the French, which was a true and undisputed decision of the small success of this campaign.

After it was ended, the parties engaged in the war began to turn their thoughts, or at least their eyes, more towards the motions of the treaty than they had hitherto done. The prince of Orange writ to me, desired to see me for a day or two at Soesdyck near Amersfort, about a day's journey from Nimeguen. He complained much, and with too much reason, of the conduct of his allies; the weakness, or rather uselessness, of the Spanish troops in Flanders, for want of pay or order; the Imperial armies acting without design upon the Rhine, or with dependence upon orders from Vienna, where the emulation of the ministers made such distraction, and counter-paces of their Generals, that the campaign had passed with small effect, after the promises of vigorously invading either Lorrain or France: how the dukes of Lunenburg had failed of sending their troops to Maestricht; which, with the sickness of the camp, had rendered that siege ineffectual: so that he began to despair of any good issue of the war; and would be glad to hear I hoped for a better of the peace, upon our scene at Nimeguen, after the paces and progress whereof he made particular enquiries. I told him how little advances had been hitherto made, by the slowness of his allies dispatching their ministers thither; how little success could be expected from the pretensions of the parties when they should meet; especially France pretending to keep all they had got by the war, and Spain to recover all they had lost; how his majesty seemed of the mind to concern himself no further than the paces of a mediator, our orders being only to convey the mind or proposals of the parties from one to another, and even to avoid the offers of any references upon them to his majesty's determinations; so that my opinion was, that it must

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be the war alone that must make the peace, and that I supposed it would do at one time or other, by the weakness or weariness of one of the parties.

The prince seemed of my mind, and said, the events of the war would depend upon the conduct at Madrid and Vienna before next campaign; for, without some great successes, he did not believe the States would be induced to continue it longer. I told the prince the discourses monsieur Colbert had entertained me with upon my arrival at Nimeguen, in which his highness was chiefly concerned. Upon which he replied coldly, he had heard enough of the same kind another way, which monsieur D'Estrades had found out to Pensioner Fagel; but that they knew him little that made him such overtures; and, for his own interests or advantages, let them find a way of saving his honour, by satisfying Spain, and nothing of his concerns should retard the peace an hour.

After my return to Nimeguen, I found the French making all the advances they could towards the progress of the treaty; and they were (no doubt) in earnest: being in a posture to insist upon their present possessions, and having made a great hand of this last campaign, they were willing, like gamesters that have won much, to give over, unless obliged to play on by those that had lost. The Swedes were more in haste and in earnest for the peace than any, hoping no resource for their losses in Germany by the war. The Dutch were grown impatient for the peace, finding France would make no difficulty of any thing between them, offering privately by their emissaries, especially at Amsterdam, such a reglement of commerce as they could desire, the restitution of Maestricht, and of all satisfaction the prince of Orange could pretend upon his losses, or their seizures in the war. But Denmark and Brandenburg were as violent against the peace, having swallowed up in their hopes all that Sweden had

possessed

poſſeſſed in Germany: and though the Emperor ſeemed to pretend little after the taking of Philipſburg, beſides the reſtitution of Lorrain, and the towns of Alſace, to the poſture they were left in by the Munſter treaty; yet they were ſo faſt linked, both with their German allies and with Spain, that they reſolved to make no paces in the treaty but by common concert: and Spain, though ſenſible of the condition their affairs in Flanders were in, as well as in Sicily, yet upon a deſign then hatching at Madrid, for removal of the queen regent and her miniſtry, to introduce Don John to head the affairs of their government, had conceived great hopes to recover thoſe deſperate infirmities that their inveterate diſorders both in counſels and conduct, eſpecially in finances, had for ſo long time occaſioned. Beſides, they had confidences ſtill given them from their Miniſters in England, that his majeſty would not, after all, be contented to ſee Flanders loſt, or would be forced into the war by the humour of his parliament. For theſe reaſons the allies ſeemed to make no haſte at all to the congreſs, and ſome of them hardly to look that way; and none of the parties were yet arrived, beſides the French, the Swedes, and the Dutch: But, about the end of September, the French ambaſſadors gave us notice, that their maſter, having made ſo many advances towards peace, and being ſo ill ſeconded by the proceedings of the confederates, and their ſlowneſs in coming to the treaty, was reſolved to recall his ambaſſadors, unleſs thoſe of the chief confederates ſhould repair to Nimeguen within the ſpace of one month.

This we communicated to the Dutch ambaſſadors and they to the States; who, after ſome conferences with the miniſters of their allies, came to a reſolution, that they would enter upon the treaty themſelves, if the miniſters of their confederates ſhould not repair to Nimeguen by the firſt of November; which was afterwards,

afterwards, upon ſome diſputes, declared to be meant old ſtyle, being that of the place where the congreſs was held.

The noiſe of this reſolution of the States was more, among their allies, than the danger; ſince there were ways enough to raiſe difficulties, and ſpin out time, after the ambaſſadors ſhould arrive, as well as before; but yet it had ſo much effect, that the ſeveral confederates did upon it begin to haſten away one or other of their intended ambaſſadors towards Nimeguen (as count Kinſki from Vienna, Don Pedro Ronquillo from England, where he then reſided as Spaniſh envoy) but not the perſons principally intruſted, or at the head of their embaſſies; nor with powers to proceed further than preliminaries; and from Denmark monſieur Heug, without any news of count Antoine's preparation, who was appointed chief of that embaſſy; any more than of the biſhop of Gurck, or marquis de Balbaces, the chiefeſt of thoſe deſigned from the Emperor and Spain.

In the mean time, the Dutch began to lay load upon their allies, for their backwardneſs, ſo declared, in making any paces towards the treaty; to cavil upon the obligations they were under of ſo many great ſubſidies to ſo many princes their allies, for carrying on a war which the allies purſued for their own ſeparate intereſts or ambition, though entered into perhaps at firſt for defence of Holland, with whoſe ſafety theirs were complicated. Hereupon their miniſters, both at the Hague and Nimeguen, took the liberty to ſay publickly, and upon ſeveral occaſions, and in ſeveral companies, that their maſters would pay no ſubſidies to their allies the next campaign, unleſs, in the mean time, they would, by their fair and ſincere proceedings in the treaty, put the French in the wrong, as their expreſſion was.

The Swedes had, as well as the French, offered to deliver us their powers; but this was deferred by the Dutch

Dutch to the arrival of their allies, till after the firſt of November was elapſed. The French began to preſs them upon it, in conſequence of the States reſolution; and, after ſome little demurs, the Dutch ambaſſadors agreed to deliver theirs. So by concert, not without difficulty, we agreed, that on the 21ſt of November the ſeveral powers ſhould be brought to us the mediators, by the ſeveral ambaſſadors, at ſuch hours as they ſhould ſeverally take from us; ſhould be depoſited in our hands; and that we ſhould afterwards communicate the originals mutually to the ſeveral ambaſſadors at their houſes, and leave copies with them, atteſted by us the mediators,

This was done accordingly; and, the morning after, the Dutch ambaſſadors brought us an account of ſeveral exceptions they were forced to make againſt ſeveral expreſſions in the French and Swediſh prefaces to their powers; which they ſaid were fitter for manifeſtoes than for powers of a treaty, eſpecially thoſe of juſtifying the war and maintaining the treaty of Weſtphalia. But the greateſt ſtreſs they laid was upon a clauſe in the French powers, mentioning the Pope's mediation; which they ſaid their maſters could never conſent to now, no more than they had at Munſter. To ſay truth, though the gaining of time for the allies coming might have ſome part in theſe exceptions of the Dutch, yet they were framed with great art; and ſhewed the great quickneſs and ſharpneſs of monſieur Van Beverning's apprehenſion, as well as his ſkill and experience in theſe kind of affairs; being, I think, without diſpute, the moſt practiſed and the ableſt ambaſſador, of any I have ever met in the courſe of my employments.

The Dutch exceptions were returned, by others from the French and Swedes, againſt their powers; but with offer from both of entering into the treaty, while theſe matters ſhould be adjuſting. The Dutch accepted it, provided

provided the French would oblige themſelves to procure new powers, free from the exceptions raiſed againſt them, as the Dutch offered to do. After much debate, they all agreed in deſiring us the mediators, to draw up a form of powers to be uſed by all the parties: we did it, and it was approved by them all; with ſome reſerve only from the French, whether it would be fit to mention any mediation, ſince that of the Pope's was left out; and ſome little tentatives upon us, whether we would be content to leave out all mention of his majeſty's mediation, as well as that of the pope's? This we excuſed ourſelves from doing, the whole frame of the congreſs having proceeded from his majeſty's mediation, without any intervention of the pope's; and the king's having been accepted by all the parties, which the pope's had not been; but on the contrary, the very mention of it, in the powers, declared againſt by ſeveral of them. And, by orders we received from court upon occaſion of this diſpute, we declared to all the parties, that though his majeſty pretended not to exclude any other mediation that the parties ſhould think fit to uſe, yet he could not in any wiſe act jointly with that of the pope; nor ſuffer his miniſters to enter into any commerce, either of viſits or conferences, with any of his that might be employed at Nimeguen.

In November arrived monſieur Heug, one of the Daniſh ambaſſadors; monſieur Somnitz and Blaſpyl, the two Brandenburg ambaſſadors; lord Berkley from Paris; and, ſoon after, Don Pedro Ronquillo, one of the Spaniſh ambaſſadors; but the laſt continued incognito till the arrival of count Kinſki, who, whether he had taken the gout, or the gout had taken him, continued upon that pretence at Cologne till the new year was begun.

The Spaniſh ambaſſador coming upon viſits to my wife, and meeting me there, found that way of entering into the preſent buſineſs of the ſcene, as much

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as if he had been declared upon it. He agreed with the French in this one point, of desiring either the pope's mediation might be mentioned in their powers, or that his majesty, in consideration of the peace, would suffer the mention of his to be left out: but the Dane, on the other side, agreed with the Dutch, in refusing to admit any power with mention of the pope's mediation. There arose likewise another difficulty, from a seeming expedient proposed by the Dutch, of having from each party several powers granted for treating with the several parties they were in war with; which the French refused, or to grant other powers than for the Dutch and their allies: and in these disputes or difficulties the year 1676 ended.

I enter not at all into the detail, or so much as mention, of the many incidents that fell into the course of this treaty upon punctilio's of visits or ceremonials; because they seem to me but so many impertinencies that are grown this last age into the character of ambassadors; having been raised and cultivated by men, who, wanting other talents to value themselves in those employments, endeavour to do it by exactness or niceties in the forms; and besides, they have been taken notice of by discourses concerning this treaty, and at one time or other may be exactly known by the original papers of our embassy, which are in two or three several hands: whereas I intend chiefly to declare the course of this great affair, by the more material circumstances, and from the true springs of those events that succeeded, rather than trouble myself with the forms that served to amuse so long this assembly at Nimeguen.

I shall only make two observations upon the ceremonial; the first is upon the Emperor's conduct towards the Brandenburg ambassadors; allowing his ministers to treat them both like ambassadors of crowned heads, though we gave it only to the first of the embassy upon

on the precedent of the Munſter treaty, and were followed in it by the French and Swedes in the whole courſe of this treaty at Nimeguen. This pace of the Emperor ſeemed not ſo much grounded, as ſome thought, upon his compliance with ſo conſiderable an ally, as upon a deſign to aſſiſt another pretenſion of his own, which is, not only a difference of place, but alſo of rank from all other crowned heads of Chriſtendom: whereas the other kings, though they yield him the place, yet they do not allow him a difference of rank. But if the Emperor could by his example prevail with other kings to treat the electors like crowned heads, it would fortify the pretenſions of the Emperor to a difference of rank; ſince there is a great one, and out of all conteſt, between him and the electors.

My ſecond remark is, that, among all the punctilio's between the ambaſſadors at Nimeguen, none ſeemed to me to carry them to ſuch heights, as the Swedes and the Danes; the firſt ſtanding as ſtiff upon all points of not ſeeming to yield in the leaſt to the French ambaſſadors, though their allies, and from a crown not only of ſo mighty power, but from whom alone they expected the reſtoring of their broken ſtate in Germany: and the Daniſh ambaſſador, upon the French powers being exhibited in French, ſaid he would give his in Daniſh, unleſs they would do it in Latin, as a common language; alledging he knew no difference between crowned heads; that the Daniſh kings had been as great as the French are now, and in their preſent dominions are as abſolute. Upon all which monſieur Van Beverning could not forbear to reflect, and ſay to us, that in his remembrance there was no ſort of competition made by thoſe two northern kings with the other three great kings of Chriſtendom: that the treatment of the States to them was very different, and their miniſters made no difficulty of ſigning any inſtrument after the miniſters of the three great crowns.

'Tis,

'Tis, I think, out of queſtion that the pretenſion of parity among the crowned heads was firſt made in the north by Guſtavus, when he told monſieur Gramont the French ambaſſador in Sweden upon this occaſion, that for his part he knew no diſtinction among crowned heads, but what was made by their virtue; and this pretence was not much diſputed with him, in reſpect to the greatneſs of his qualities, as well as of his attempts and ſucceſſes; and his example was followed by the kings of Denmark, and has ſince left place a thing conteſted among them all. 'Tis true, the French have claimed the precedence next to the Emperor, with more noiſe and haughtineſs than the reſt, but have been yielded to by none except the Spaniards, upon the fear of a war they were not able to deal with; nor have they ſince been willing to own the weakneſs of that conceſſion, but have choſen to fall into what meaſures they could of encouraging and eſtabliſhing the pretence of parity among crowned heads. The moſt remarkable inſtance of this happened at Nimeguen; where, upon a public meeting of the allies, the diſpute ariſing between Spain and Denmark for the place at table, Don Pedro conſented to have it taken by turns, and the firſt to be divided by lot. The French ambaſſadors made their pretence of preference next the mediators at Nimeguen, in the firſt return of their viſits from ambaſſadors arriving; but it was neither yielded to by Swede or Dane, nor practiſed by the Emperor's ambaſſadors, who made their firſt viſit to the mediators, and the next without diſtinction to the firſt that had viſited them. The Emperor took advantage of the French, as well as the reſt, having yielded to the mediators; and during this treaty made a ſcruple, though not a refuſal, of doing it; by which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf from the other crowned heads. We were content to keep it, as much as we could, from deciſion with them; but it once happened, that, up-

on a meeting with the allies at the Dane's houſe, count Kinſki was there before I and Sir Lionel came into the room, where chairs were ſet for all the ambaſſadors. After the common ſalutations, I went ſtraight up to the chair that was firſt in rank, and ſtood before it, to ſit down when the reſt were ready; but my collegue, either loſing his time by being engaged in longer civilities, or by a deſire not to be engaged in conteſts, gave room to count Kinſki (a very briſk man) to come and ſtand before the chair that was next me, and conſequently between me and my collegue: when I ſaw this, and conſidered, that, though the place was given me by the Imperialiſts, yet it was not given to the king's embaſſy; I choſe not to ſit down; but, falling into the conference that was intended, I ſtood all the while as if I did it careleſly, and ſo left the matter undecided.

The prince of Orange, about the latter end of December, writ very earneſtly to me, to make a ſtep, for ſome few days, to the Hague, knowing I had leave from his majeſty to do it when I thought fit. And, finding all things without preſent motion at Nimeguen, I went thither, and arrived the laſt day of the year. The firſt of the next, being 1677, I attended his highneſs: we fell into large diſcourſes on the progreſs of the treaty, the coldneſs of the parties, the affected delays of the Imperialiſts and Spaniards, the declared averſion of the Danes and Brandenburg; and concluded how little was to be expected from the formal paces of this congreſs. Upon all which the prince aſked, if I had heard any more of his majeſty's mind upon the peace, ſince I had been laſt with him? I told him what I remembered of his laſt letter to me upon that ſubject; which was, that he concluded from the prince's diſcourſes to me, that he had then no mind to a peace; that he was ſorry for it, becauſe he thought it was his intereſt to have it: that he had tried to know the mind

mind of France upon it; but if they would not open themſelves farther on one ſide, nor his highneſs on the other, than they had yet done, he would content himſelf with performing only his part of mediator, and in the common forms. The prince ſaid, this looked very cold, ſince his majeſty was alone able to make the peace, and knew well enough what it would come to by the forms of the congreſs: that, for his own part, he deſired it, and had a great deal of reaſon; both becauſe his majeſty ſeemed to do ſo, and to think it his own intereſt as well as the prince's; and becauſe the States not only thought it their intereſt, but abſolutely neceſſary for them: that he would not ſay this to any but to the King by me; becauſe, if France ſhould know it, they would, he doubted, be harder upon the terms: that both Spain and the Emperor had leſs mind to it now, than they had at the end of the laſt campaign; the new miniſters being leſs inclined to it than the old had been; ſo that there was not one of the allies that had any mind to it, beſides the States: that, for his own part, he ſhould be always in the ſame mind with them, and therefore very much deſired it; but did not know which way to go about it, at leaſt ſo as to compaſs it before the next campaign. And, if that once began, they ſhould be all at ſea again, and ſhould be forced to go juſt as the wind ſhould drive them: that if his majeſty had a mind to make it, and would let him know freely the conditions upon which either he deſired or believed it might be made, he would endeavour to concert it the beſt he could with his majeſty, and that with all the freedom and ſincerity in the world; ſo it might be done with any ſafety to his own honour, and the intereſts of his country.

All this he deſired me to write directly to his majeſty from him, as he knew I had not only leave, but

command to do, upon any occaſion that I thought deſerved it.

Two days after, I ſaw the Penſioner Fagel upon ſome common affairs incident to my embaſſy at the Hague, which had been left in the hands of the ſecretary of that embaſſy. When theſe diſcourſes were paſt, he aſked me if I had brought them peace from Nimeguen? I replied, that ſince he was ſo ignorant of what had paſſed there, I would tell him, That they had carried their matters there *en habiles gens* [like able men]: that, to bring their allies to the congreſs, they had pretended to treat by the firſt of November, whether they came or no: that after that day paſſed, they had found fault with the powers exhibited, had offered at new, made the mediators courſe from one to the other, ſpun out two months time in theſe paces, and thereby were gotten in ſight both of Spaniſh and Imperial miniſters, which I ſuppoſe was the point they always intended, and afterwards to keep pace with them. The Penſioner anſwered me, with ſomething in his face both ſerious and ſad, that either I did not know them, and the courſe of their affairs ſince I left the Hague, or elſe I would not ſeem to know them: that they not only deſired the peace from their hearts, but thought it abſolutely neceſſary for them: that they would certainly have entered into treaty at that time, if the French had either exhibited powers in a form to be at all admitted, or would have obliged themſelves to procure new ones; nay, that they would not inſiſt upon a peace according to their allies pretenſions, nor could he anſwer that they would not make a ſeparate one. I ſaid, that was a matter of ſuch moment as I was ſure they would think of it another year before they did it. With this he drew up his chair cloſer to me, and began a diſcourſe with more heat and earneſtneſs than agreed well with the poſture of health he was in, ſaying, firſt, that they had thought enough

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of it already; and, with thinking much, had begun to find it was without remedy: that they had great obligations to Spain, for entering into the war to ſave their country, and thereby to ſave Flanders too; but they had made them no ill return, by continuing it now three years only for the intereſts of Spain, ſince there remained nothing of conſequence between France and them: that they had further engaged themſelves to carry it on this following year, and ſo would have done with the forces they did the laſt, if their allies had performed the parts they had likewiſe engaged; but, for Spain, they took no care, but to let them ſee they were reſolved to periſh: that they had ſent their fleet home from Sicily, without the payments agreed on; and left them to be paid by the States at their return: that not a penny could be got of a great ſum they owed them for carriages and proviſions the laſt ſummer, and which was deſigned for magazines againſt next year in Flanders, without which their armies could not march in that country, where they were ſure to find none of the Spaniards providing; that they had repreſented to Spain the neceſſity but of keeping ſo many forces well regulated and paid, as might defend their towns while the prince ſhould take the field with the army of the ſtate, and hinder or divert any great ſieges there; but not a word of anſwer: that they had then deſired them to receive ſo many of the troops of the German princes, their allies, as might defend their moſt important places; but, inſtead of this, they drove them out of their country: that, for the Emperor, they had always told him, that unleſs his army would march into France, or at leaſt force them to a battle by ſuch forces as might draw great detachments of the French out of Flanders, that country would not be ſaved the laſt ſummer, or at leaſt not the next, unleſs his army took up their quarters this winter in Alſace, or on that ſide of the Rhine: but at Vienna they conſidered Flanders as

much as the Dutch do Hungary; and becauſe the Imperial officers could better find their private account by winter quarters in Germany, than in a country haraſſed like Alſace, their armies muſt repaſs the Rhine this winter, and thereby loſe all the advantages of the laſt campaign, and hopes of the next: that, for want of magazines in Flanders, two or three ſtrong frontiers would be loſt there next ſpring, before the Imperialiſts could take the field; and if Cambray, Valenciennes, and Mons were taken, all the reſt would revolt, conſidering the miſeries they had already ſuffered, and muſt by a longer war: that the prince would not be able to prevent it, or be ſoon enough in the field to march, for want of proviſions in Flanders, the country growing deſolate by the unſettled contributions; or at leaſt, not with ſuch an army as to venture a battle, or raiſe a ſiege, while the Spaniſh troops were ſo weak, and the French would be ſo ſtrong, at a time when they had no enemy to divert them upon the Rhine: that the prince's friends could not ſuffer him to go into the field, only to ſee towns loſt under his noſe, and perhaps all Flanders, while he was expected to defend it; and at the ſame time was rendered incapable of doing it by the faults of the Spaniards, who yet would not fail to reproach him, as well as his enemies abroad, and ill-willers at home, that would be glad of the occaſion. In the mean time, from France they could have whatever conditions they pretended, either by reſtoring Maeſtricht, a reglement of commerce, or any advantages to the houſe of Orange; and, as to this laſt, whatever the prince himſelf would demand: that to this purpoſe they had every week preſſing letters from monſieur D'Eſtrades to make the ſeparate peace; and though he ſhould fall into it with the greateſt regret that could be, yet he did not ſee what elſe was to be done, and did not know one man in Holland that was not of the ſame mind: that he did not talk with

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me as an ambaſſador, but a friend, whoſe opinion he eſteemed and deſired: that he told me freely *leur fort et leur foible* [their ſtrength and their weakneſs]; and would be glad to know what elſe I thought they could do upon all theſe circumſtances, *& dans l'accablement de leur eſtat par une ſi longue guerre* [and in the diſtreſs of their ſtate by ſo long a war]. I returned his compliment, but excuſed myſelf from giving my opinion to a perſon ſo well able to take meaſures that were the fitteſt for the States conduct or his own; but deſired to know what he reckoned would become of Flanders after the Dutch had made their ſeparate peace, becauſe the fate of that country was that wherein the reſt of their neighbours were concerned as well as they. He anſwered, it would be loſt in one ſummer, or in two, but more probably in one: that he believed Cambray, Valenciennes, Namur, and Mons might be loſt in one ſummer: that, after their loſs, the great towns within would not offer at defending themſelves, excepting Antwerp and Oſtend, for which they might perhaps take ſome meaſures with France, as I knew the French had offered Monſieur de Witt upon their firſt invaſion in 1667. I aſked him how he reckoned this State was to live with France after the loſs of Flanders? and if he thought it could be otherways than at diſcretion? He deſired me to believe, that, if they could hope to ſave Flanders by the war, they would not think of a ſeparate peace; but, if it muſt be loſt, they had rather it ſhould be by the laſt, which would leſs exhauſt their country and diſhonour the prince: that after Flanders was loſt, they muſt live ſo with France, as would make them find it their intereſt rather to preſerve their State than to deſtroy it: that it was not to be choſen, but to be ſwallowed like a deſperate remedy: that he had hoped for ſome reſource from better conduct in the Spaniſh affairs; or that ſome great impreſſion of the German armies, upon that ſide of

France, might have brought the peace to ſome reaſonable terms: that, for his own part, he had ever believed that England itſelf would cry halt, at one ſtep or other that France was making; and that, if we would be content to ſee half Flanders loſt, yet we would not all; nor Sicily neither, for the intereſt of our trade in the Mediterranean: that the king had the peace in his hands for theſe two years paſt; might have made it when he pleaſed, and upon ſuch conditions as he ſhould think fit, of juſtice and ſafety to the reſt of his neighbours as well as himſelf: that all men knew, France was not in a condition to refuſe whatever terms his majeſty reſolved on, or to venture a war with England in conjunction with the reſt of the allies: that the leaſt ſhew of it, if at all credited in France, was enough to make the peace: that they had long repreſented all this in England by monſieur Van Beuninghen, and offered his majeſty to be the arbiter of it, and to fall into the terms he ſhould preſcribe; but not a word in anſwer, and all received with ſuch a coldneſs as never was, though other people thought we had reaſon to be a little more concerned: that this put him more upon thinking a ſeparate peace neceſſary than all the reſt: that he confeſſed, *cuncta prius tentanda* [all means were firſt to be tried], till he found at laſt it was *immedicabile vulnus* [an incurable wound]: that, for their living with France after Flanders was loſt, he knew well enough what I meant by aſking; but, after that, the aims of France would be more upon Italy or Germany, or perhaps upon us, than them; that it could not be the intereſt of France to deſtroy or conquer this ſtate, but to preſerve it in a dependence upon that crown: that they could make better uſe of the Dutch fleets, than of a few poor fiſher towns, that they ſhould be reduced to if any violation were made, either upon their liberties or religion: that the king of France had ſeen their country, and knew it, and underſtood

derſtood it ſo, and ſaid, upon all occaſions, that he had rather have them for his friends than his ſubjects; but if, after all, I concluded their ſtate muſt fall in four and twenty hours, yet it were better for them to defer it to the laſt hour, and that it ſhould happen at night rather than at noon.

This was diſcourſed with ſuch vehemence and warmth, that he was not able to go on; and having ſaid, it was not a matter to be reſolved between us two, I left him, after wiſhing him health enough to go through the thoughts and buſineſſes of ſo great a conjuncture.

Next morning I went to the prince, and, after ſome common talk, told him what had paſſed in my viſit to the Penſioner, and aſked his highneſs, if he had ſeen him ſince, or knew any thing of it? He ſaid no; and ſo I told him the detail of it: and, upon concluſion, that he ſaid he ſaw nothing elſe to be done but to make a ſeparate peace; and, that he knew not a man in Holland who was not of his mind. The prince interrupted me, ſaying, 'Yes, I am ſure I 'know one, and that is myſelf, and I will hinder it as 'long as I can; but, if any thing ſhould happen to me, 'I know it would be done in two days time.' I aſked him, whether he was of the Penſioner's mind, as to what he thought likely to happen the next campaign? He ſaid, the appearances were ill; but campaigns did not always end as they began: that accidents might happen which no man could foreſee; and that, if they came to one fair battle, none could anſwer for the event: that the king might make the peace if he pleaſed, before it began; but, if we were ſo indifferent as to let this ſeaſon paſs, for his part, he muſt go on, and take his fortune: that he had ſeen that morning a poor old man, tugging alone in a little boat with his oars, againſt the eddy of a ſluice, upon a canal; that, when with the laſt endeavours he was

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juſt got up to the place intended, the force of the eddy carried him quite back again; but he turned his boat as ſoon as he could, and fell to his oars again; and thus three or four times while the prince ſaw him; and concluded, this old man's buſineſs and his were too like one another, and that he ought, however, to do juſt as the old man did, without knowing what would ſucceed, any more than what did in the poor man's caſe.

All that paſſed upon theſe diſcourſes, I repreſented very particularly to the court, the firſt part immediately to the king, the reſt to the ſecretaries of ſtate; and added my own opinion, that if his majeſty continued to interpoſe no further than by the bare and common offices of his mediation, in the place and forms of a treaty, and the Auſtrians held off from the progreſs of it, as well as the northern allies, and as they had all hitherto done, it would certainly follow, that the French and Dutch would fall into private negotiations; and, by what I could obſerve on both ſides, were like to adjuſt them in a very little time, and leave them ready to clap up a peace in two days, when the Dutch ſhould grow more impatient of the ſlowneſs or unſincereneſs of their allies proceedings in the general treaty, or whenever the violent humour of the people ſhould force the prince to fall into the ſame opinion with the States upon this matter. This I eſteemed myſelf obliged to ſay, that his majeſty might want no lights that were neceſſary upon ſo nice, and yet ſo dangerous a conjuncture. I had his majeſty's anſwer in a long letter, of his own hand, complaining much of the confederate miniſters in England caballing with parliament-men, and raiſing all men's ſpirits as high againſt the peace as they could; and that they had done it to ſuch a degree, as made it very difficult for him to make any ſteps with France towards a general peace, unleſs the Dutch ambaſſa-

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dor would first put in a memorial, pressing his majesty from the States to do it; and declaring, that without it they saw Flanders would be lost.

From secretary Williamson I had no other answer material upon all the Pensioner's discourses, nor my own opinion upon the present conjuncture, but that his majesty, and the lords of the foreign committee, wondered I should think the French were so ready for a separate peace, if the Dutch should fall into those thoughts; and that they did not remember they had ever received any thing from either me or my collegue at Nimeguen that looked that way. Upon which I told him the frequent conversations I had had with monsieur Colbert, upon that subject, and the several letters the Pensioner had shewn from the marshal D'Estrades, or his instrument, at Maestricht. But to all this I received no answer; nor so much as reflection; though I thought this part was my duty, as ambassador at the Hague, whether it was so as mediator at Nimeguen or not.

The prince and Pensioner were both willing the king should be complied with, in the government of monsieur Van Beuninghen's paces and language at London; but pressed me to write once more, to know his majesty's opinion upon the terms of a peace, or else he said it would be too late, while the season advanced towards the campaign. Upon which I desired him to consider there might be three weeks difference between his first telling his own thoughts to his majesty, and receiving his majesty's opinion upon them; or sending first to know his majesty's, then returning his own, and afterwards expecting the king's again, in case they differed: besides, I believed his majesty would take it kinder, and as a piece of more confidence, if his highness made no difficulty of explaining himself first. The prince paused a while, and then said, to shew the confidence he desired to live in with his

his majesty, he would make no further difficulty of it, though he might have many reasons to do it: that, if the king had a mind to make a sudden peace, he thought he must do it upon the foot of Aix la Chapelle; which he would have the more ground for, because it was a peace he both made and warranted: that, for exchanges, he thought there should be no other proposed upon it, but only of Aeth and Charleroy for Aire and St. Omer; which two last he thought imported a great deal more to France, than the others, unless they would declare that they intended to end this war with the prospect of beginning another, by which they might get the rest of Flanders: that this was all needed pass between France and Spain; and for the Emperor and this State, that the first, having taken Philipsburgh from the French, should raze it; and the French having taken Maestricht from the Dutch, should raze it too; and so this whole war should pass *comme un tourbillon qui avoit cessé, après avoir menacé beaucoup, & fait fort peu de remuemens au monde* [as a storm that has ceased, after it had threatened much, and made but little alteration in the world.]

I was surprized to hear a proposition so on the sudden, so short and so decisive, and that seemed so easy towards a short close, if his majesty should fall into it; and I esteemed it a strain in the prince of the most consummate knowledge in the whole present scheme of affairs, and most decisive judgment upon them that he could have given, after the longest deliberation and matureſt advice. I observed however to his highness upon it, that he had not explained what was to become of Lorrain and Burgundy; and next, whether he believed it at all likely, that France, after such acquisitions made in this war, and so many more expected, should come to such restitutions of what they possessed, without any equivalent. The prince replied, both

both were explained by the terms he propoſed of Aix la Chapelle: that for Lorrain, France never pretended to keep it, but from the laſt duke only; that Burgundy could not be parted with by Spain, without the French reſtoring ſo many towns for it in Flanders as would raiſe endleſs debates, draw the buſineſs into lengths, and ſo leave it to the deciſion of another campaign. For the ſecond, he ſaid, he had reaſon to doubt it, and did not believe it would be done but by his majeſty's vigorous interpoſition, but by that he was ſure it would be eaſily effected: but, if his majeſty would not endeavour it, the war muſt go on, and God Almighty muſt decide it: that all the allies would be glad of it, and believed that, upon Don John's coming to the head of the Spaniſh affairs, there would be a new world there: that however one town well defended, or one battle well fought, might change the ſcene: that for himſelf, he would confeſs, the king could never do ſo kind a part, as to bring him with ſome honour out of this war, and upon ſome moderate terms; but if he was content that France ſhould make them inſupportable, they would venture all, rather than receive them; and, for Holland's making it a ſeparate peace, let the Penſioner, or any others, tell me what they would, they ſhould never do it while he was alive, and was able to hinder it. And he would ſay one thing more to me, that he believed he was able to hinder it: that, if he died, he knew it would be done next day; but, when that ſhould happen, this matter muſt be ſome other's care, and perhaps we in England were the moſt concerned to look after it.

I promiſed to repreſent all he had ſaid directly to his majeſty, and ſo I did immediately; and the prince went next day to Dieron within ſix leagues of Nimeguen, where I promiſed to come to him as ſoon as I ſhould be poſſeſſed of his majeſty's anſwer. And I

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am the more particular in all these discourses with the Prince and the Pensioner upon this great conjuncture, because they do not only discover the true springs from which the peace was afterwards derived, but represent most of the interests of Christendom, as they were observed by the two persons that, next to monsieur de Witt, understood them the best of any I have ever met with in the course of my negotiations.

After the prince was gone, I had one conference more with the Pensioner, who told me he was still of opinion it must come to a separate peace: that he had told the Emperor's ministers the same thing; and, that if they did not, at Vienna, fall into the measures proposed and insisted on by the States, before the middle of February next, they should be forced to make it: that if Don Emanuel de Lyra had not now assured them of the remises being actually come from Spain, for payment of the last year's charge of the fleets, both in the Mediterranean and Baltick, according to agreement, the peace could not have been kept off this winter itself. I told him the prince was of another mind, and had said to me a separate peace should never be made while he lived, and was able to hinder it; and that he believed he should have that in his power. The Pensioner replied, he should come to it with as much regret as the prince himself; but, that his highness himself might be forced to it by the ill conduct of his allies, the ill successes of the next campaign, and the mutinies of the people, to which they were already but too much disposed at Amsterdam by the delays of the treaty at Nimeguen: that the late revolution in Spain, against the queen regent and her ministry, had shewed enough what might be brought about by a violent and general humour of the people; and the prince knew the country too well to go too far against it: that it was in his majesty's hands to make a general peace, if he pleased, before the campaign began; and perhaps

haps it was in the conduct of Spain and the Emperor to engage Holland in one campaign more, by the measures they had proposed: if both these failed, a separate peace must be made.

While I staid at the Hague, which was about a month, my collegues at Nimeguen had, it seems, found out a negotiation grown between the French ambassadors and monsieur Van Beverning, separate from the ministers of his allies, and without any communication of the mediators, which they suspected would end in a separate peace. Of this they thought fit to give part to the court, and of their suspicions upon it; as they had done in my absence; and received an immediate order upon it, that, in case they found a separate peace concluding, or concluded between France and Holland at Nimeguen, they should protest publickly against it in his majesty's name. This my collegue Sir Lionel Jenkins writ to me at the Hague about the 10th of January, and was in great pain upon it. He apprehended the thing, but expected not to know it till it was done, and then doubted any good consequences from our protestation. He desired I would both send him my thoughts upon it, and the same to court as soon as I could.

I did so, both to my lord treasurer and Mr. secretary Coventry; and told them very freely, that I could not understand the reason or the drift of such an order as my collegues had received to make such a protestation: that if a separate peace between France and Holland were thought as dangerous in the court, as I knew it was in the country, the king might endeavour to prevent it; and had it still in his power, as he had had a great while: but, if it were once concluded, I did not see any other effect of our protestation, unless it were to irritate both the parties, and bind them the faster, by our being angry at their conjunction. Nor did I know what ground could be given for such a protestation; for

for though the parties had accepted his majesty's mediation of a general peace, yet none of them had obliged themselves to his majesty not to treat a separate one, or without his offices of mediation; and, if they had, I did not see why the same interests, that could make them break through so many obligations to their allies, should not make them as bold with a mediator: that, as to prevent the thing may be a very wise and necessary counsel, so his majesty's resolution in it ought to be signified as early as can be, where it is likely to be of moment to that end, which was to France: but if the thing should be first done, as I could not tell how well to ground our offence, so I could as little how to seek our revenge; and it would be to stay till we were struck, and then trust to crying out: that, to the best of my sense, it were better to anger any one of the parties before a separate peace, than both of them after; and if we must strain any points of courtesy with them, to do it rather by making a fair and general peace, than by complaining or protesting against a separate one.

I thought, I confess, that upon this representation from my collegues, without any knowledge of mine, or suspicion that the matter was working up at Nimeguen when I left it, and yet agreeing so much with what I had foreseen and represented from the Hague, and meeting such a resentment at our court as appeared by the order transmitted to my collegues upon it; there was little question but his majesty would declare himself upon the terms of a general peace to both parties, which I knew very well would be refused by neither, if he were positive in it, and supported, as he would certainly have been, by the prince: but our counsels at court were so in balance, between the desires of living at least fair with France, and the fears of too much displeasing the parliaments upon their frequent sessions, that our paces upon this whole affair looked

looked all like croſs purpoſes, which no man at home or abroad could well underſtand, and were often miſtaken by both parties engaged in the war, as well as by both parties in the houſe of commons, till the thing was wreſted out of our hands.

About the twenty-fifth of January 1677, I received his majeſty's anſwer to my laſt diſpatches by the prince's directions, and carried them immediately away to Dieren, which was a little out of my way to Nimeguen, and there communicated them to the prince. They conſiſted of two parts; the firſt, an offer of his majeſty's entering into the ſtrongeſt defenſive alliance with the States, thereby to ſecure them from all apprehenſions from France, after the peace ſhould be made. The ſecond, was his majeſty's remarks, rather than concluſion or judgment, upon the terms propoſed by the prince for a peace: that he believed it might be compaſſed with France, upon the exchange of Cambray, Aire, and St. Omer, for Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenarde, Condé, and Bouchain: that this ſcheme was what his majeſty thought poſſible to be obtained of France, though not what was to be wiſhed.

I obſerved the prince's countenance to change when I named Cambray and the reſt of the towns: yet he heard me through, and the many nice reaſons of Sir J— W—— upon the matter; as of a double frontier this would give to Flanders, the ſafety whereof was the thing both his majeſty and the States were moſt concerned in; and many other ways of cutting the feather. After which the prince ſaid, he believed dinner was ready, and we would talk of it after we had dined, and ſo went out; but, as he was near the door, he turned to me, and ſaid, though we ſhould talk more of it after dinner, yet he would tell me now, and in few words, that he muſt rather die, than make ſuch a peace.

After dinner, we went again into his chamber, where he began with telling me I had ſpoiled his dinner: that

he had not expected such a return of the confidence he had begun towards his majesty. He observed the offer of alliance came to me in a letter of his majesty's own hand; but that about the terms of a peace, from the secretary only: that it was in a style as if he thought him a child, or to be fed with whipped cream: that, since all this had been before the foreign committee, he knew very well it had been with the French ambassador too, and that the terms were his, and a great deal worse than they could have directly from France. He cast them up distinctly, and what in plain language they amounted to: that Spain must part with all Burgundy, Cambray, Aire, and St. Omer, which were of the value of two other provinces in the consequences of any war between France and Spain; and all for the five towns mentioned: that in short all must be ventured, since he was in, and found no other way out. I told the prince that I hoped he would send his majesty his own thoughts upon it; but that he would think a little more before he did it. He said, he would write to the king that night, but would not enter into the detail of the business, which was not worth the pains, but would leave it to me. He desired me further to let his majesty know, that he had been very plain in what he had told me of his own thoughts upon this whole matter, and had gone as low as he could with any regard to the safety of his country, and his allies, or his honour: that he doubted whether Spain would ever have consented to those very terms; but for these he knew they could not, though they were sure to lose all Flanders by the war: and, for himself, he could never propose it to them; but, if Flanders were left in that posture, it would never be defended upon another invasion, neither by Holland, nor by England itself; and he was so far of the Spaniards mind, that, if Flanders must be lost, it had better be so by a war than by a peace: that, whenever that was,

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Holland muſt fall into an abſolute dependence upon France; ſo that what his majeſty offered, of an alliance with them, would be to no purpoſe; for they would not be made the ſtage of a war after the loſs of Flanders, and wherein they were ſure no alliance of his majeſty, nor forces neither, could defend them. He concluded, that if his majeſty would help him out of this war with any honour and ſafety, either upon kindneſs to him, or conſideration of what concernment his own crowns were like to have in the iſſue of this affair, he would acknowledge and endeavour to deſerve it as long as he lived; if not, the war muſt go on, be the event what it would; and, for his own part, he would rather charge a thouſand men with a hundred, nay, though he were ſure to die in the charge, than enter into any concert of a peace upon theſe conditions.

I gave his majeſty an account of all that paſſed in this interview, and returned to my poſt at Nimeguen.

The allies had taken great umbrage at my journey to the Hague, as deſigned for negotiating ſome ſeparate peace between France and Holland; but the Prince and Penſioner ſeemed careleſs to ſatisfy them, and made that uſe only of it, to let them know that no ſuch thing was yet intended, but that Holland would be forced to it at laſt if the Emperor and Spain fell not into thoſe meaſures that they had propoſed to them, both at Vienna and Madrid, for the vigorous proſecution of the next campaign. Which had ſome effect at Vienna, but little in Spain or Flanders, as was felt in the beginning of the ſpring.

At my return to Nimeguen, I found that in my abſence count Kinſki was arrived, who was a perſon of great parts, of a ſharp and quick apprehenſion, but exact and ſcrupulous in his conduct, rigid in his opinions, never before verſed in theſe ſort of employments, and thereby very punctilious: this had engaged him in difficulties upon the ceremony of viſits, both with

my collegues and the French, upon his first arrival; which lasted with these till the end of the congress, so as to hinder all visits between them: but I had the good fortune to retrieve all ill correspondence that had happened between the mediators and him. I found likewise, that a secret intelligence was grown between the French and Dutch ambassadors, which was managed by monsieur Olivecrans, the second Swedish ambassador, and wholly apart from my collegues, whose intervention had been only used when the matter was first agreed between those parties: that monsieur Van Beverning drove on very violently towards a peace, and with little regard of his allies; and said he had order from the States, *de pousser l'affaire tant qu'il lui seroit possible* [to push the business on as vigorously as possible:] that those ambassadors had come to a sort of agreement about the form and number of powers, which was, that the mediator should be desired to draw up a form of preamble, which should be common to all the parties, and contain nothing more, but that such and such princes, out of a sincere desire of peace, had sent such and such persons to Nimeguen, which had been chose for the place of treaty, by the interception of the king of Great-Britain: that the mediators should likewise draw up an obligatory act, to be signed by the several ambassadors, and put into their hands on the same day, for the procuring new powers within sixty days after the date: that the titles in the new powers should be inserted, *bona fide*, according to the usual style of the chancellary of each court; and that an act of salvo should be signed by the several ambassadors, for no consequence to be drawn hereafter, for the use or omission of any titles in these powers.

I found likewise, that these points had been agreed among all the allies, by the formal intervention of my collegues, after they had first been concerted between the French and Dutch: that these ambassadors had entered

tered into a courſe of mutual viſits; owning publickly that they did it as neceſſary to facilitate the progreſs of the treaty: and that the Dutch began to talk of finiſhing an eventual treaty (as they call it) for themſelves as ſoon as the acts about powers were wholly diſpatched, which ſhould not take place till the general peace was concluded; but after which they, the Dutch, intended to employ their offices between their allies and the French.

I found likewiſe, that Mr. Hide had increaſed the number of the mediators in my abſence, who, having been ſent into Poland the ſummer paſt, to chriſten that king's child, and to condole with the Emperor upon the late Empreſs's death, and performed the firſt compliment from his majeſty; but, upon his coming from thence to Vienna, found the Emperor married, and ſo paſſed on privately home, and arrived at Nimeguen, ſoon after I left it upon my journey to the Hague; where he came to me, after having ſtaid a fortnight at Nimeguen. He told me at the Hague, that, upon his return by Rotterdam, he had there met letters from court with a commiſſion to ſtop for ſome ſhort time at Nimeguen, and take the character of one of the ambaſſadors mediators there, by which he might be enabled at his return to give his majeſty an account of the ſtate and progreſs of affairs there. He ſaid, this commiſſion was intended to find him at Nimeguen, upon the ſtop he made there; but having not arrived till he had left that place, he was in doubt whether he ſhould make any uſe of it or no, and deſired my advice, whether to return to Nimeguen, or to go forward for England. I eaſily perceived what this diſpatch was intended for, to introduce him into thoſe kind of characters and employments; and ſo adviſed him to go back to Nimeguen, which he did, and made a part of the embaſſy during a ſhort ſtay there, but excuſed himſelf from entering into the management of any

conferences or dispatches; so that by his modesty, and my lord Berkley's great age and infirmities, the fatigue of that employment lay still upon me and Sir Lionel Jenkins, who writ alternately the dispatches from the embassy to court, and the others to other princes and ministers by concert, all the while I was upon the place.

I found likewise, at my return to Nimeguen, some few difficulties yet remaining, which obstructed the dispatch intended about the powers: for though the French had consented to furnish new powers, and several for the Emperor, Spain, Denmark, and Holland; yet they refused a distinct one for Brandenburg, which these ministers insisted on; and the Dutch were in such obligations to that prince, that they were forced to do so too, though unwillingly, as doubting the success with France, and foreseeing the consequence of the same pretence to be raised upon it by other princes of Germany, not only electors, but the houses of Lunenburg and Neuberg, who yielded to the electors in no point, but that one of precedence. But the Dutch, to distinguish that of Brandenburg, alledged to us, that he was principal in the war of Sweden, and so could not be included as an ally only, either by the Emperor, or by the States.

The Danish ambassador stood positively upon the common use of the Latin tongue between France and them in their powers, or else to give his in Danish, if they gave theirs in French. These said, that it was a novelty and an impertinence; and that, if in all the intercourse that had ever been between those two crowns, the language had not been French on their side, and Latin on the Danes, even in any one instrument, they were content they should give their powers not only in Danish, but in Hebrew if they pleased. The Dane said, he could not give account of all precedents: that, if ill ones had been hitherto used, it

was

was time to eſtabliſh new ones that were good: that his maſter had more right to do it than any former king, being now ſucceſſive in that crown, which was before elective; and, being more abſolute in his dominions than any other king of Chriſtendom; for there was now nothing in Denmark, but *la volonté du Roy* [the will of the King;] upon all which he ſaid his orders were poſitive, and he could not proceed without the ſtyle he pretended.

Theſe two points chiefly had obſtructed the final agreement about the powers for near a month; after which we prevailed with the French to yield to new powers for Brandenburg, upon aſſurance from the Dutch ambaſſador that they expected no ſuch pretenſion for any other of their German allies; but that, if any ſhould be raiſed and refuſed by France, yet that ſhould not hinder or delay the Dutch from proceeding in the treaty. The Dane's pretence about the languages, being neither countenanced nor approved by any of his allies, was at laſt yielded by him; which had been better never ſtarted, as having loſt him ground in that which was intended by it, which was to eſtabliſh the principle of a parity among crowned heads.

There was an accident happened likewiſe in my abſence, which had raiſed great heats among the parties.

Upon count Kinſki's arrival, the allies began their meetings at his houſe; by which they hoped to govern the general reſolutions, and keep the alliance from breaking into any ſeparate pieces. The Dutch ambaſſadors, who pretended to influence the peace more than any of their allies, ſtomached the count's deſign and carriage at theſe conferences, where they ſaid he pretended to be ſole dictator; and they were unwilling to enter into plain contradictions, or the ſame heats at his own houſe; upon which they went to the Stadthouſe, and choſe there a room for their conferences among all the allies, which, upon the firſt practice,

gave great offence to the French ambaſſadors. They ſaid it was a breach upon the neutrality of the place, eſtabliſhed by the aſſembly's being there; and that the Dutch had now arrogated to themſelves the diſpoſal of the town-houſe, without common agreement. The Dutch alledged, the rooms they had taken were not belonging to the town, but to the nobles of Guelderland, and were below ſtairs; and that all above remained to be diſpoſed of ſtill by the mediators for the common uſe of the parties when they ſhould deſire it. The French were not ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, and threatened to break the aſſembly. We at laſt prevailed with the allies to forbear the uſe of the Stadthouſe, till we drew up a formal propoſal, to be made by us the mediators to all parties, deſiring them, that, for their eaſe and convenience, all parties would meet in one room at the Stadthouſe, or at leaſt the two alliances in two ſeveral rooms, whilſt we ſhould meet in another, and be there ready to perform all offices between them. This laſt was accepted, and we deſigned the ſeveral rooms for ourſelves and the parties; but were forced to find two rooms for the French and Swedes to meet apart, whoſe competition, though allies, would not ſuffer them to meet in one, or decide it by lot, as the Spaniard and Dane had done.

There remained one difficulty more, which particularly concerned his majeſty. Both French and Spaniards, as well as Imperialiſts, had inſiſted, even with emulation, that the pope's mediation ſhould be mentioned in the new powers, as well as his majeſty's. The Dutch and Danes both had abſolutely refuſed to treat upon any powers where the pope's mediation ſhould be mentioned. We had likewiſe repreſented to them, how great a difference there was between his majeſty's mediation, that had been accepted by all parties, and the pope's, that had been ſo only by a part of them; and the very mention of it abſolutely refuſed by

by ſeveral others, to be admitted into the powers: that his majeſty's mediation had propoſed the place of treaty, exchanged the paſſports, formed the aſſembly, managed all the negotiations in it ſo long, without the appearance of any miniſter from the pope, or knowledge whether he would be received if he came, or by whom his mediation would be accepted or employed. At length it was reſolved, that the mention of his majeſty's mediation alone ſhould be made in the ſeveral powers: and ſo all being agreed, about the middle of February, all the ſeveral acts were ſigned and put into our hands, and by us exchanged among the ſeveral parties.

After this diſpatch of all preliminaries to the treaty, the ſeveral parties, by agreement, brought into our hands their ſeveral propoſitions or pretenſions. The French ſeemed in theirs to demand nothing of the Emperor and of Brandenburg, but the entire reſtoring of the treaty of Munſter; of Spain, the retaining of all they had conquered in this war, upon the Spaniards having firſt broken the peace. From the States General they made no demand, but offered them the reſtoring of their friendſhip, and that they would hearken to a treaty of commerce. On the other ſide, the Emperor's demands were, that France ſhould reſtore to him, to the Empire, and to all his allies, whatever they had taken from them in the courſe of this war, and make reparation for all damages they had ſuffered in it. The Spaniards demanded all the places they had loſt, and all the damages they had ſuffered from France ſince the year 1665. The Dutch demanded from France the reſtitution of Maeſtricht, ſatisfaction to the prince of Orange in what did concern the principality of Orange, and reglement of commerce, with a renunciation of all pretenſions each party might have upon the other. As for the great damages they had ſuſtained, they ſaid, they

they ſacrificed them all to the public peace, provided ſatisfaction might be given to their allies.

For the northern kings and German princes, their demands were ſo extended, that I ſhould forbear relating them, and ſum them up in this only, That thoſe who had gained by the war, pretended to retain all they had got; and thoſe that had loſt, pretended to recover all they had loſt, and to be repaid the damages they had ſuffered by the war. Count Kinſki delivered into our hands likewiſe the duke of Lorrain's pretenſions ſealed as the reſt were; but we opened them not, upon the French telling us they had not received from court any counter-pretenſions upon the duke of Lorrain; whereof they believed the reaſon to be, that no miniſter of his had yet appeared at the congreſs. Indeed, their pretenſions againſt Lorrain had never yet been made ſince the death of the late duke, and would have been very hard to draw up by their ableſt miniſters or advocates themſelves; and therefore they thought fit to decline them, and reſerve them for the terms of a peace, when they ſhould be able to preſcribe, rather than to treat them.

By theſe propoſitions of the ſeveral parties, it eaſily appeared to the world, what wiſe men knew before, how little hopes there were of a peace, from the motions of this treaty in the preſent circumſtances of affairs, and how it was wholly to be expected from the courſe and influence of future events in the progreſs of the war.

About the 24th of February, I went to the prince at his houſe at Soeſdyck, a day's journey from Nimeguen, upon a letter from his highneſs deſiring it of me. I had about a week before written to him by the king's command; upon which his highneſs deſired to ſpeak with me. I went, and told him the contents of my laſt diſpatch. He aſked me, whether it were from the king himſelf, or from any of the miniſters? I told him it was from ſecretary Williamſon, by the king's command.

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The prince ſaid, Then he knew from whence it came; but however deſired me to read the particulars to him; which were, the king's apprehenſion of a miſtake in the prince, becauſe the terms mentioned by his majeſty were not any propoſitions, which he did not think his part to make, nor had he any authority for it, but only a piece of confidence he had entered into with the prince: next, that the exchange of Cambray was only propoſed as a thing to be wiſhed, that ſo ſix towns might be reſtored to Spain, inſtead of five the prince had propoſed, which, in his majeſty's opinion, would make a kind of a double frontier to Bruſſels, and ſo leave Flanders ſafer than by the prince's ſcheme: therefore his majeſty deſired the prince would think further of it, and not let it fall ſo flat as he did by his laſt anſwer, without trying what it would be beaten out to: but however offered, that, if his highneſs had any other propoſition to make to France, the king would very readily hand it over to them in the beſt manner he could.

Whilſt I was reading this to the prince, he could hardly hear it out with any patience, Sir J— W——'s ſtyle was always ſo diſagreeable to him; and he thought the whole caſt of this ſo artificial, that he received it at firſt with indignation and ſcorn, rather than with thoſe further thoughts that were deſired of him. He ſaid the ſtyle of letting it fall ſo flat, was my lord Arlington's; and the double frontier, as it were, for Bruſſels, were ſome of the ſecretary's *creſme fouetté* [whipped cream] and fit for children. The reſt he took to be all the French ambaſſador's, who would fain continue a private treaty with him by the king's hand, while his maſter went into the field. His anſwer was very plain, That he had thought enough of it, and had no more to ſay at this time: that, when he ſpoke to me ſo lately at the Hague, he believed the peace might have been made, and upon better terms

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than he propoſed, if the king had deſired them from France, either upon kindneſs to him, or upon the intereſts of his own crowns: that he was ſorry to find the king's thoughts ſo different from his; and that, whenever they grew nearer, he ſhould be glad to know it: but he looked now upon the campaign as begun, and believed, at the time we talked, the guns were playing before Valenciennes: that he ſaw no hopes of a peace, but expected a long war, unleſs Flanders ſhould be loſt, and in that caſe the States muſt make the beſt terms they could: that he expected a very ill beginning of the campaign, to make an ill figure in it himſelf, and to bear the ſhame of faults that others would make; but if the Emperor performed what he had promiſed, the campaign might not end as it began: that, however, he was in, and muſt go on, *& quand on eſt á la grande meſſe, on y eſt* [and when one is at high-maſs, one is at it], meaning, I ſuppoſe, that one muſt ſtay till it is done, becauſe the crowd is ſo great one can't get out: that he gave his majeſty thanks for his offer of handing over to France any propoſition he ſhould make; but that never was his meaning; for if it had, he could eaſily have found a directer way: that his intention was only to enter into a confidence with his majeſty upon the ſubject of the peace, and to owe it wholly to him; but if any thing was propoſed by the king to France otherwiſe than as his own thoughts, it muſt be from the body of the alliance, and not from him.

After theſe diſcourſes, the prince went immediately away for the Hague, and I returned to Nimeguen; where all negotiations ſeemed wholly at a ſtand, and ſo continued till towards the end of April. In this time arrived monſieur Stratman, one of the Imperial ambaſſadors; monſieur Chriſtin, one of the Spaniſh; but he and Don Pedro having only the character of plenipotentiaries, and pretending thereupon the treatment

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of ambaſſadors, and the French and Swedes refuſing it to that character, they continued incognito till the arrival of the marquis de Balbaces.

For monſieur Stratman, upon his notification to the ſeveral ambaſſadors (at the ſame time, as he ſaid) the Dane and the Swede made him firſt their viſits, and after them the French: whereupon, having firſt made his to the mediators, he returned them to the Swede, the Dane being out of town; after which he ſent to demand an hour of the French; but monſieur D'Eſtrades returned him anſwer, that, having failed of the reſpect due to the king his maſter, they would not admit of any viſit from him. Hereupon monſieur Kinſki and monſieur Stratman deſired us to aſk upon what point the French refuſed their viſit, ſaying, it could be upon no other but a pretence of preference to all other crowns, and expecting the firſt viſits to be made to the French, though other ambaſſadors had firſt viſited the Imperialiſts. This they deſired much the French would avow, believing it would embroil them with the Swedes as well as with us, who they knew would declare againſt any ſuch pretence. But the French, upon our application from the Imperialiſts, kept ſtanch to their firſt anſwer, that monſieur Stratman *avoit manqué du reſpect au roy leur maiſtre* [had been wanting in the reſpect due to the king their maſter] that he had done it in ſeveral points, and knew very well in what: and further than this they would not enter into the matter, but continued poſitive in refuſing the viſit.

Whilſt ſuch matters as theſe helped to amuſe the congreſs, and keep them in countenance, the eſſential parts of the treaty were managed in the field: France had in the beginning of the year blocked up Cambray; and Valenciennes about the end of February. Having provided ſufficient magazines in the winter for the ſubſiſtence of their forces, they began to break into Flanders, and into the parts of Germany, on the other ſide the

the Rhine, and with all the moſt cruel ravages of burning and ſpoiling thoſe parts of Germany that could be exerciſed, and ſuch as had not yet been uſed on either ſide ſince the war began. The allies made complaints of this new manner of war to his majeſty; who employed his offices towards France, to hinder ſuch proſecution of a quarrel, while a peace was treating under his mediation: But the thing was done, and their point was gained; which was, by an entire ruin of the country to hinder the Imperialiſts from finding any ſubſiſtence for their troops, if they ſhould march into Alſace, and thereby divert thoſe forces that the French reſolved to employ this ſpring in Flanders, before the Dutch could take the field and march to the relief of thoſe places they intended to attack.

About the ſeventeenth of March, the king of France took Valenciennes; having ſurmounted the very force of the ſeaſons, and ſat down before it about the beginning of that month. From thence he marched with a mighty army, and laid ſiege to Cambray with one part of it, and to St. Omer with the other, under the duke of Orleans. After five days ſiege from the opening of the trenches, he took Cambray, like all the other Spaniſh towns, by ſurrender upon articles; but the citadel held out for ſome days longer.

In the mean time, the Dutch, having received their payments due from Spain, and finding the French to go on with their deſign upon Flanders, whilſt the treaty ſerved but for an amuſement, reſolved to go on with the war for another campaign; being kept up to this reſolution by the vigour of the prince of Orange, in preſſing them upon the obſervance of their treaties, and purſuit of their intereſt, in the defence of Flanders. Upon the firſt motion of the French, the prince had begun to prepare for that of his troops likewiſe, and preſſed the Spaniards to have theirs in readineſs to join him; and with all imaginable endeavours provided for

for the ſubſiſtance of his army in their march through Flanders, which the Spaniards had taken no care of. But with all the diligence and application that could be uſed, he could not come to the relief either of Valenciennes or Cambray; but with part of the forces of the States alone, and without either troops, or ſo much as guides, furniſhed him by the Spaniards, he marched directly towards St. Omer, reſolute to raiſe that ſiege with the hazard of a battle, at what diſadvantage ſoever. The duke of Orleans, leaving a ſmall part of his troops to defend his trenches before St. Omer, marched to meet the prince of Orange, and upon the way was re-inforced by monſieur de Luxemburgh with all the troops the French king could ſend out of his army, leaving only enough to continue the ſiege before the citadel of Cambray. Theſe armies met, and fought with great bravery at Mont-Caſſel, where, after a ſharp diſpute, the firſt regiment of the Dutch infantry began to break, and fall into diſorder: the prince went immediately to that part where the ſhake began, rallied them ſeveral times, and renewed the charge, but at laſt was borne down by the plain flight of his men, whom he was forced to reſiſt like enemies, and fall in among them with his ſword in his hand; and, cutting the firſt croſs the face, cried out aloud, *Coquin, je te marquerai au moins, à fin de te faire pendre* [raſcal, I'll ſet a mark on thee at leaſt, that I may hang thee afterwards.] Voice nor actions, threats nor examples, could give courage to men that had already loſt it; and ſo the prince was forced to yield to the ſtream that carried him back to the reſt of his troops, which yet ſtood firm; with whom, and what he could gather of thoſe that had been routed, he made a retreat that wanted little of the honour of a victory; and will, by the confeſſion of his enemies, make a part of that great character they ſo juſtly allow him. The ſafety of the Dutch army, upon this misfortune, was by them wholly

ly owed to his highneſs's conduct as well as bravery in the courſe of this action; after which, both St. Omer and the citadel of Cambray were ſurrendered to the French about the twentieth of April, with which the Spaniards loſt the main ſtrength of their frontier of Flanders on that ſide (as they had done that on the other ſide by Aeth and Charleroy in the former war) and all the hopes of raiſing any contributions in France, which was a great part of the ſubſiſtance of the Spaniſh troops; ſo as there now remained nothing of frontier conſiderable, beſides Namur and Mons to the land, Oſtend and Newport to the ſea; and the reſt of the Spaniſh Netherlands conſiſted only of great towns, by which no reſiſtance could be hoped for whenever the French ſhould think fit to attack them, and could ſpare men enough to garriſon them when they ſhould be taken. For the greatneſs of thoſe towns, and multitude of inhabitants, and their inveterate hatred to the French government, was ſuch, as without very great garriſons they could not be held, unleſs, upon one ſudden conqueſt and great revolution, the whole Spaniſh Netherlands ſhould become French, and thereby be made a new frontier towards the Dutch and Germans, and, like a new conqueſt, the ſeat of their armies.

This the Spaniards thought would never be ſuffered, neither by England nor Holland; and ſo they ſeemed to have abandoned the fate of Flanders to their care, with a reſignation that became good Chriſtians, rather than good reaſoners. For I have long obſerved, from all I have ſeen, or heard, or read in ſtory, that nothing is ſo fallacious, as to reaſon upon the counſels or conduct of princes or ſtates, from what one conceives to be the true intereſt of their countries; for there is in all places an intereſt of thoſe that govern, and another of thoſe that are governed: nay, among theſe, there is an intereſt of quiet men, that deſire only to keep what they have; and another of unquiet men,

men, who desire to acquire what they have not; and by violent, if they cannot by lawful means. Therefore I never could find a better way of judging the resolutions of a state, than by the personal temper and understanding, or passions and humours, of the princes, or chief ministers, that were for the time at the head of affairs. But the Spaniards reasoned only from what they thought the interest of each country. They knew Holland would save Flanders, if they could, and England they were sure could if they would, and believed would be brought to it at last by the increase of the danger, and force of their own interest, and the humour of the people. In this hope or presumption they were a great deal flattered by their ministers then in England, Don Bernard de Salinas envoy from Spain, and Fonseca consul there; who did indeed very industriously foment the heats that began about this time to appear in the parliament, upon the apprehensions of the French conquests both in Flanders and Sicily: which moved them, about the end of March, to make an address to the king, representing the progresses of France, and desiring his majesty to put a stop to them, before they grew dangerous to England, as well as to their neighbours. Don Bernard de Salinas told some of the commons, that the king was very angry at this address, and had said upon it, that the authors of it were a company of rogues; which made a great noise in the house of commons. The king resented it as a piece of malice in Salinas, or at least as a design to inflame the house; and thereupon ordered him to depart the kingdom within certain days. Yet, about a month after, the parliament made another address, upon the same occasion; desiring his majesty to make a league offensive and defensive with the States-General, for opposing the progress of the French conquests. This his majesty received as an invasion of his prerogative,

made them an angry anſwer, and prorogued the parliament till the winter following.

However, France had ſo much regard to the jealouſies raiſed both in England and Holland, of their deſigning an entire conqueſt of Flanders, that, after having gained thoſe three important frontier-towns ſo early in the ſpring, and diſperſed his army after that expedition, that king returned home; writ to his majeſty, that to ſhew he had no intention to conquer Flanders, but only to make a general peace, he was contented, notwithſtanding the great advantages and forces he had at preſent, to make a general truce, in caſe his allies the Swedes would agree to it; which he deſired his majeſty to inform himſelf of, ſince he had not convenience of doing it, for want of liberty of couriers into Sweden.

The contents of this letter were proned by the French ambaſſadors at Nimeguen among the ſeveral miniſters there, till they found it had an effect contrary to what was intended, and was taken by all for too groſs an artifice. It paſſed very ill with monſieur Van Beverning himſelf, who, of all others there, was the moſt paſſionately bent upon the peace. But he ſaid openly upon this, that the French were to be commended, who never neglected any thing of importance, nor ſo much as of amuſement: that France had given their blow, and would now hinder the allies from giving theirs: that the reſerve of Sweden's conſent was an eaſy way of avoiding the truce, if the allies ſhould accept it: that this itſelf could not be done, becauſe Flanders would be left ſo open, as to be eaſily ſwallowed up by the next invaſion, having no frontier on either ſide: that the towns, now poſſeſſed by France, would in the time of a truce grow abſolutely French, and ſo the harder to be reſtored by a peace or a war: that, for his part, he deſired the peace; contrary to the politics of monſieur Van Beuninghen, and the other miniſters of the allies in England; affirming always, that, notwithſtanding all

all their intrigues and intelligences there, he, monſieur Van Beverning, was aſſured, that his majeſty would not enter into the war, to ſave the laſt town in Flanders. This confidence made him purſue all the ways towards a peace, and by paces which ſome thought forwarder than his commiſſion, and very ill concerted with thoſe of his allies. About the middle of April, he brought us the project of a treaty of commerce both for France and Sweden, and deſired we would make the communication of them; which we did for form, though we knew that thoſe miniſters had been before poſſeſſed of them from the Dutch ambaſſadors themſelves. And, ſome few days after, they entered into conferences upon this project at the French ambaſſador's houſe, whom they found very eaſy in the terms the Dutch inſiſted on for their commerce, which was all that could make any difficulty between them.

1677. About the end of April, the miniſters of the allies came, and preſented us their ſeveral anſwers in writing to the French propoſitions; which they offered to leave with us, whenever we ſhould aſſure them that the French and Swedes were ready with theirs. Upon this communication given to the French, they were poſitive to give no anſwer in writing, nor to receive any, alledging both reaſon and example for their opinion; this from the practice of the Munſter-treaty, that from the danger of the invective ſtyle or language that are apt to enter into the writings of each party upon ſuch occaſions. The allies were for ſome time as peremptory in their reſolution of delivering their anſwer in writing; but both at laſt agreed upon the expedient we propoſed, of dictating to us what they intended ſhould be ſaid to the other party, of our ſetting the ſubſtance down in writing, and reading it over to them firſt who dictated to us, ſo as they might be judges whether we had rightly apprehended and expreſſed their meaning;

and yet the thing might go in our ſtyle, and not in theirs; by which all ſharpneſs and provocation would be avoided.

About the middle of May, arrived preſident Canon, envoy from the duke of Lorrain, and put his maſter's pretenſions into our hands; upon which the allies expected a return of thoſe from France upon that duke, no room being now left for delaying them from the want of a miniſter upon the place: but the French ſaid very plainly, it was a matter they were not inſtructed in; which the allies received with great ſtomach, and perpetual complaints to us the mediators; all profeſſing they were reſolved not to proceed in the treaty, without carrying on the intereſts of that duke, an equal pace with their own.

About the end of May, arrived the pope's Nuncio; whereupon the Swediſh and Daniſh ambaſſadors reſorted immediately to us, deſiring to know how we intended to carry ourſelves in what regarded that miniſter; profeſſing themſelves to be much in pain, being on one ſide very much preſſed, the Swedes by the French, and the Danes by the Imperialiſts and Spaniards, to the interchange at leaſt of common ceremonies and civilities with a miniſter for whom they all with emulation profeſſed ſo great reſpect and deference: on the other ſide, the Swedes and Danes pretended neither to have inſtruction nor example from their reſpective courts, to determine them in this matter; but ſaid they were reſolved to obſerve and conſider the ſteps that ſhould be made by us. We cut the buſineſs very ſhort, and declared to them our reſolution to have no ſort of commerce with the pope's Nuncio, either in the affairs of our function, or in matters of ceremony; and told them, our orders from court were ſo preciſe in this point, that they would admit of no debate. The next day, monſieur Colbert and monſieur D'Avaux came formally to give us part of the Nuncio's arrival, and

and of his desire to make us his first compliments, if he might know they would be received: our answer to them was the same we had made to the Swedes and Danes; and, soon after, all the ministers of protestant princes at Nimeguen resolved to follow our example, and to have no commerce at all with the Nuncio.

About the same time, after many messages carried by us between the parties, they were persuaded at last into the agreement of delivering and exchanging, by our hands, their answers to each others propositions in writing, tho' without pretending to pursue that method in the succeeding paces of the negotiation. Nor was there need of that caution, for this I take to have been the last pace of any free and general negotiation between the parties engaged in the war and in the treaty; nor were the answers any thing nearer agreeing, than the first propositions.

The last day of May, arrived the marquis de Balbaces, first ambassador from Spain; and, about the same time, my lord Berkley returned into England, where he languished out the rest of the summer, and died.

About the 7th of June, the Dutch ambassadors brought us the project of a treaty between them and France, digested and extended in all its forms and articles; and told us soon after, they had, in a conference upon it with the French ambassadors, agreed in a manner all the points of it; at least, that there remained but two, which concerned commerce only, undetermined between them, which they doubted not would be agreed likewise upon return of the French dispatches from court: that, after their business was ended, they would perform the best offices they could between their allies and the French. And indeed, by the beginning of July, all points were accordingly agreed between the French and Dutch, and monsieur

Van Beverning began to play the part of ſomething more than a mediator; preſſing on his allies towards a peace with paces very earneſt and ſomething rough, and, as ſome believed, more than he had order for from his maſters, who yet pretended to hold hands with their allies. But monſieur Van Beverning profeſſed to believe, that their friends at the Hague were impoſed upon by Van Beuninghen and the Spaniſh miniſters at London, who ſtill animated them with hopes of the king's entering into the war, or at leaſt preſcribing a plan of the peace to be received by all parties; which Van Beverning believed neither one nor the other of, and pretended to be morally aſſured of his opinion, and thereupon grounded the abſolute neceſſity of a peace.

In this month, the duke of Zell began to make a difficulty of ſending the five thouſand men he had promiſed to the allies, without ſome new ſtipulations; and the French offered a guaranty to the houſe of Lunenburg of all their conqueſts on the Swede in Bremen, upon a neutrality to be declared by thoſe dukes; which began to give great umbrages to the allies, as well as the Swedes, of ſome ſeparate meaſures like to be concluded between France and the whole houſe of Brunſwick. The Dutch ambaſſadors were likewiſe in pain, upon new intelligence, both from Vienna and Madrid, about a ſeparate peace being treated between Don John and the French, with an exchange of the Spaniſh Netherlands for what ſhould be reſtored them in Rouſſillon and Sicily. The miniſters of the confederates made great inſtances in England, that his majeſty would recall his troops that were in the French ſervice, attributing moſt of their ſucceſſes in Germany to the bravery of thoſe Engliſh regiments. But his majeſty excuſed it upon the equality of a Mediator, ſince there were Engliſh troops of greater number in the ſervice of the allies: who took this anſwer however for an ill ſign of

that

that profecution which they hoped from his majefty for the relief of their languifhing affairs. The hopes of thofe great actions promifed by the Imperialifts this fummer on the Rhine began to flat, their troops finding no fubfiftance in thofe countries, which had been wholly defolated by the French in the beginning of the year, to prevent their march. The prince of Orange obferving all thefe circumftances, and foreſeeing no refource for the intereft of the allies, unlefs from his majefty; and that it was likely to prove an unactive fummer in Flanders, the French refolving not to come to a battle, and he not able to form a fiege, and oppofe a French army that fhould come to relieve it; he fent monfieur Bentinck over into England about the beginning of June, to defire his majefty's leave that he might make a journey thither fo foon as the campaign ended. He received a civil anfwer; but with wifhes from the king, that he would firft think of making the peace, and rather defer his journey till that were concluded.

About the middle of June, my fon came over to me at Nimeguen, and brought me letters from my lord treafurer, to fignify his majefty's pleafure that I fhould come over, and enter upon the fecretary of ftate's office, which Mr. Coventry had offered his majefty to lay down upon the payment of ten thoufand pounds: that the king would pay half the money, and I muft lay down the reft at prefent; though his lordfhip did not doubt but the king would find the way of eafing me in time of that too. I writ immediately to my lord treafurer to make my acknowledgement to his majefty; but at the fame time my excufes, that I was not in a condition to lay down fuch a fum, my father being ftill alive, and keeping the eftate of the family; and defiring that the king's intention might at leaft be refpited till he faw how the prefent treaty was like to determine. In return of my letters, on the fecond of July, Mr. Smith, one of the king's

meſſengers, being ſent expreſs, and making great diligence, arrived at Nimeguen, and brought me his majeſty's commands to repair immediately over in a yacht which he had ſent on purpoſe for me; in obedience to this command I left Nimeguen, but without any ceremony, pretending only a ſudden journey to England, but ſaying nothing of the occaſion, further than to my neareſt friends.

At my arrival, the king aſked me many queſtions about my journey, about the congreſs, draping us for ſpending him ſo much money, and doing nothing; and about Sir Lionel, aſking me how I had bred him, and how he paſſed among the ambaſſadors there; and other pleaſantries upon that ſubject. After a good deal of this kind of converſation, he told me, I knew for what he had ſent for me over, and that it was what he had long intended; and I was not to thank him, becauſe he did not know any body elſe to bring into that place. I told his majeſty, that it was too great a compliment for me, but was a very ill one to my country, and which I thought it did not deſerve: that I believed there were a great many in it fit for that, or any other place he had to give; and I could name two in a breath that I would undertake ſhould make better ſecretaries of ſtate than I. The king ſaid, 'Go, get you 'gone to Sheen; we ſhall have no good of you till you 'have been there; and, when you have reſted yourſelf, 'come up again.' I never ſaw him in better humour, nor ever knew a more agreeable converſation when he was ſo; and, where he was pleaſed to be familiar, great quickneſs of conception, great pleaſantneſs of wit, with great variety of knowledge, more obſervation and truer judgment of men, than one would have imagined by ſo careleſs and eaſy a manner as was natural to him in all he ſaid or did. From his own temper, he deſired nothing but to be eaſy himſelf, and that every body elſe ſhould be ſo; and would have been glad

glad to see the least of his subjects pleased, and to refuse no man what he asked. But this softness of temper made him apt to fall into the persuasions of whoever had his kindness and confidence for the time, how different soever from the opinions he was of before; and he was very easy to change hands, when these he employed seemed to have engaged him in any difficulties: so as nothing looked steady in the conduct of his affairs, nor aimed at any certain end. Yet sure no prince has more qualities to make him loved, with a great many to make him esteemed, and all without a grain of pride or vanity in his whole constitution: nor can he suffer flattery in any kind, growing uneasy upon the first approaches of it, and turning it off to something else. But this humour has made him lose many great occasions of glory to himself, and greatness to his crown, which the conjunctures of his reign conspired to put into his hand; and have made way for the aspiring thoughts and designs of a neighbour prince, which would not have appeared, or could not have succeeded in the world, without the applications and arts employed to manage this easy and inglorious humour of the king.

I staid two days at Sheen, in which time some of secretary Coventry's friends had prevailed with him not to part with his place, if he could help it, unless the king would let him recommend the person to succeed him, who should pay all the money he expected, and which the king had charged himself with. When I came to town, the king told me in his closet all that had passed between him and Mr. Coventry the day before upon this occasion: that he did not understand what he meant, nor what was at the bottom; for he had first spoke to his majesty about parting with his place, said his health would not go through with it, made the price he expected for it, and concluded all before he had sent for me over: that now he pretended he

he did not mean to quit it, unleſs he might preſent one to ſucceed him; and he hoped he had not deſerved his majeſty ſhould turn him out. But the king ſaid upon it, that under favour, he was reſolved to take him at his word; and ſo he had told him, and left him to digeſt it as he could. Upon this I repreſented to the king, how old and true a ſervant Mr. Coventry had been of his father and him; how well he had ſerved him in this place; how well he was able to do it ſtill by the great credit he had in the houſe of commons, where the king's great buſineſs lay in the ill ſtate of his revenue; how ill ſuch a treatment would agree with his majeſty's nature and cuſtoms: and for my own part, that it would be a great favour to me to reſpite this change, till he ſaw what was like to become of the treaty, or the war; and therefore I begged of him that he would not force a good ſecretary out, and perhaps an ill one in, againſt both their wills; but let Mr. Coventry keep it, at leaſt till he ſeemed more willing to part with it. The king ſaid, Well then, he would let it alone for the preſent, but did not doubt, in a little time, one or other of us would change our mind.

In the mean time, the deſign of my journey was known, my lord Arlington and others ſtill aſking me when they ſhould give me joy of it, and many making applications to me for places in the office, which made the court uneaſier to me, and increaſed my known humour of loving the country, and being as much in it as I could. However, when I came to court, the king fell often into converſation with me, and often in his cloſet alone, or with none other preſent beſides the duke or my lord treaſurer, and often both. The ſubject of theſe converſations was uſually the peace, and the prince of Orange's journey into England. The king always expreſſed a great deſire for the firſt, but not at all for the other till that was concluded. He

ſaid,

ſaid, his parliament would never be quiet nor eaſy to him while the war laſted abroad: they had got it into their heads to draw him into it, whether he would or no: that they pretended public ends, and dangers from France, and there might be both meant by a great many honeſt men among them; but the heats and diſtempers of late had been raiſed by ſome factious leaders, who thought more of themſelves than of any thing elſe, had a mind to engage him in a war, and then leave him in it, unleſs they might have their terms in removing and filling of places; and he was very loth to be ſo much at their mercy, as he ſhould be if he were once engaged in the war: that, beſides, he ſaw the longer it continued, the worſe it would be for the confederates; more of Flanders would be loſt every day; the conduct of Spain muſt certainly ruin all in time; and therefore he would fain have the prince make the peace for them, if they would not do it for themſelves: that, if he and the prince could fall into the terms of it, he was ſure it might be done. And, after ſeveral diſcourſes upon this ſubject for near a month, his majeſty at laſt told me, he had a great mind I ſhould make a ſhort turn to the prince, and try if I could perſuade him to it; and aſſure him, that, after it was agreed, he ſhould be the gladdeſt in the world to ſee him in England. The duke and my lord treaſurer both preſſed me upon the ſame point; but I told them, at a long conference upon it, how often I had been employed upon this errand to the prince, how unmoveable I had found him, and how ſure I was to find him ſo ſtill, unleſs the king would conſider of another ſcheme for the peace than had been yet propoſed to him, and wherein he might reckon upon more ſafety to Flanders, as well as to his own honour: that I had ſpent all my ſhot, and was capable of ſaying no more to him than I had done, in obedience to all the inſtructions I had received; that his anſwer had been

poſitive;

positive; so that some of my good friends at court pretended they had been my own thoughts rather than the prince's: that his majesty would do well to try another hand, and he would the better know the prince's mind, if his answers were the same to both; if not, he would at least know how ill I had served him. The king said, it was a thing of confidence between him and the prince, and must be so treated, and he knew no body he had besides to send. I told him, if he pleased I would name one: he bid me; and I said Mr. Hide was idle ever since his return from Nimeguen, had been entered into the commission of the mediators there, staid with us a fortnight or three weeks, might pretend to return thither to exercise the same function in my absence, since the commission run to any two of the number, and might take the prince of Orange's camp in his way to Nimeguen, perform the king's commands to his highness, inform himself of his last resolution upon the subject of the peace, go on to Nimeguen without giving any jealousy to the allies, or without the noise that my going would make, since Sir Lionel had writ to court and to me, that Monsieur Van Beverning had desired all paces should stop there till my return, which he heard would be sudden, and that the king would send by me his own plan of the peace. The duke fell in first to the proposal of Mr. Hide's going; and, after some debate, the king and my lord treasurer, and that it should be as soon as possible. He was sent for accordingly, and dispatched away in all points as I had proposed. He found the prince at the camp, but unmoveable in the business of the peace upon the terms his majesty had thoughts of proceeding; gave account of all that passed in that conference to the king, and went straight away to Nimeguen, and writ me word of his conversation with the prince, and that he never saw such a firmness in any man.

I knew

I knew Mr. Hide's going to reſide at Nimeguen would be of great comfort and ſupport to Sir Lionel, who was in perpetual agonies (as his word was) after he was left alone in that ſtation; having ever ſo much diſtruſt of his own judgment, that, though he had the greateſt deſire that could be to do well, yet he many times could not reſolve how to go about it; and was often as much perplexed about the little punctilio's of viſit and ceremony that were left to buſy that embaſſy, as if greater affairs had ſtill attended it. Beſides, he lay under the laſh of ſecretary Williamſon, who, upon old grudges between them at Cologne, never failed to lay hold of any occaſion he could to cenſure his conduct, and expoſe it at the foreign committee, where his letters were read to his majeſty. It happened about this time, that the Spaniſh ambaſſadors, firſt appearing in public upon a new commiſſion to all three, gave immediate notice of it to the Imperialiſts, who made their viſit upon it, and were within two hours reviſited by the Spaniards. After which, they ſent their formal notifications to all the other ambaſſadors, and to the mediators in the firſt place. Sir Lionel was in pain, having orders to pretend the firſt rank of reſpect before the Imperialiſts as well as other ambaſſadors there; and not to yield, if he came in competition. He had likewiſe another order, which was, that upon matters in ceremony, doubtful, and not admitting the delay of new orders, he ſhould conſult with the other ambaſſadors, eſpecially French and Swediſh, who uſed to carry thoſe points the higheſt, and govern himſelf as well as he could by precedents and examples. He conſulted both theſe ambaſſadors, whether he ſhould viſit the Spaniards, after their having given the firſt notice to the Imperialiſts: and they concluded, that he ſhould firſt know of them, whether it was done in form, as to ambaſſadors in general; or whether it was upon the account of the near alliance in blood between

tween thoſe two houſes of Auſtria: that, if it were the firſt, he ought not to viſit them, as having put a diſreſpect upon the mediation, and diſtinguiſhed the Emperor from all the other crowned heads, who had yielded the precedence wholly to them; which they would not have done, if the Emperor had refuſed it. But, if the Spaniards affirmed it was only upon the nearneſs of blood between them, none of the other ambaſſadors need take any notice of it, ſince the ſame had been done between thoſe two crowns at Munſter upon the ſame ſcore; which being there declared, it gave no offence to the mediators, though they were the pope's Nuncios, with whom there was otherwiſe no competition. Sir Lionel was ſatisfied by the Spaniards (who gave it him in writing) that the viſits were made only upon the ſcore of kindred, as at Munſter; and thereupon made them his viſit, and received theirs: for which he was ſharply reproved by ſecretary Williamſon's letter upon it, who had repreſented it to the king as a diſobedience to a poſitive order, and giving up the point to the Imperialiſts. But, being at court ſoon after theſe diſpatches, I endeavoured to juſtify my collegue's intentions and his proceedings, by ſhewing that he had conformed to his other orders of conſulting the other ambaſſadors, and proceeding according to the beſt precedent, which was that of Munſter; and that, if he had broken with the Spaniards upon this point, he would have provoked the Imperialiſts to declare their reſolution of not yielding to the mediators, upon which the other ambaſſadors would recall the conceſſion which they had already made in this point, and ſo hazard, if not loſe, the poſſeſſion his majeſty was in, of the firſt reſpect given to his mediation. I had the good fortune to ſatisfy his majeſty and his miniſters, and to obtain orders for his gracious pardon to be ſent to Sir Lionel (for they would ſuffer it to run in no other terms;) for which, however, the

poor

poor gentleman made as great acknowledgments, as if his fault had been much greater and worſe meant.

The reſt of this ſummer paſſed without any further paces made in the congreſs at Nimeguen; where the meſſages, carried and returned about the buſineſs of Lorrain, ſerved to keep the mediators in countenance, and no more. The whole body of the allies preſſed for an anſwer from the French to that duke's pretenſions, delivered in by preſident Canon. The French, after their former exception of his wanting a miniſter there, raiſed another to ſtave off theſe inſtances of the allies, and declared they could give no anſwer about Lorrain, till the biſhop of Straſburg's agents were received by the allies; upon which the Emperor made an invincible difficulty, declaring he would never treat with a vaſſal of his own: and, in theſe conferences about Lorrain, the French ambaſſadors began to inſinuate to the mediators, that their maſter never intended that to be treated as a principal, but only as an acceſſary to the treaty.

In Auguſt arrived at Nimeguen the biſhop of Gurck, chief of the Imperial embaſſy; and count Antoine, of that from Denmark: the firſt was immediately viſited by the Spaniſh ambaſſadors, and returned it; after which he ſent his notifications to the mediators, and from them to the other ambaſſadors; upon which no difficulty was made by them, ſince the biſhop made the ſame declaration the Spaniards had done before upon the like occaſion, that the firſt viſits, paſſing between the miniſters of the two houſes of Auſtria, were viſits of kindneſs and conſanguinity, and not of ceremony. But count Antoine fell into endleſs difficulties upon his firſt arrival. He intended to have ſent his firſt notifications to the mediators, as others had done; but the Imperialiſts, having notice of this intention, ſent him direct word, they expected the firſt reſpect ſhould be given the Emperor; and this was the firſt time they owned

owned that pretenſion, in prejudice of the honour hitherto done to the king's mediation. Count Antoine ſent monſieur Heug, his collegue, to acquaint the mediators with this incident, and deſire them to find out ſome expedient: they excuſed themſelves, alledging their poſitive orders to expect the firſt notification; the Danes were as unwilling to diſoblige his majeſty as the Emperor; and found no temper in this matter after many offered both by French and Dutch ambaſſadors; ſo that count Antoine reſolved to leave it undecided, and to give no notifications, or receive or make any viſits, but however aſſiſted at the conferences among the allies, and made a part of all the evening entertainments, at play and in converſation, in the apartments of the ſeveral ambaſſadrices; and this courſe he obſerved, during his ſtay at Nimeguen, which was ſeven or eight months: for the reſt, a perſon very much eſteemed for his generous qualities, and gentlemanly humour and converſation, and yielding to none upon the place in the greatneſs and ſplendour of his equipage; wherein the marquis de Balbaces and count Antoine ſeemed to diſtinguiſh themſelves from all the reſt.

About the end of July, the prince of Orange made an attempt upon Charleroy, rather than a ſiege. This had been before concerted with the duke of Lorrain, who made a mien of entering into Champagne, on purpoſe to draw off the French forces from attending the prince's motions and deſign upon Charleroy. The prince had hopes to take it by ſurprize; but found them of the garriſon upon their guard, and very ſtrong, as well as the place, which had been fortified with all the force of art and expence that could be employed upon a place of that compaſs. He ſat down before it, and would have beſieged it in form, if the duke of Lorrain could have diverted the French army from relieving it; but monſieur de Louvois, with great diligence,

gence, leaving the marſhal de Crequi with force enough to face that duke, aſſembled a very great army for the relief of Charleroy; upon approach whereof, the prince called a council of war, to reſolve whether to march and fight the French army, or raiſe the ſiege. The laſt was reſolved, upon debate at the council, and accordingly executed, and therewith ended this campaign in Flanders. But this march and retreat of the prince paſſed not without many reflections, not only among the allies, but in Holland too, as if he had given over the deſign upon ſome intelligences and expreſſes between him and the king about this time. Monſieur Bentinck had gone over and returned without any body's knowing his buſineſs: my lord Oſſory happened to arrive in the camp, the day before the council of war upon which the ſiege was raiſed: which made many think, ſomething his lordſhip brought from England was the occaſion of it. But I could never find there was any thing more in his journey than the hopes of ſeeing a battle (which was ever a particular inclination of my lord Oſſory) and a caſt of my lord Arlington to preſerve himſelf in the prince's favour and confidence as much as he could, by my lord Oſſory's keeping cloſe to him at a time when he ſaw the buſineſs of Chriſtendom roll ſo much upon the perſon of the prince.

About this time, the aſſembly at Nimeguen ſeemed in danger of being broken by a paſſionate motion the Swedes made in it. There had been a long conteſt ſince it firſt began, between the Swedes and Danes, about freedom of paſſage for the Swediſh couriers through the Daniſh territories, for managing the correſpondencies neceſſary with their court. The Danes pretended the example of France, who refuſed the ſame liberty to the Spaniards. This diſpute had been managed by many meſſages, wherewith the mediators had been charged between the parties, wherein the allies of both ſides

took equal part. Sometimes the matter had been treated with very preſſing inſtances, and ſometimes with fainter; ſometimes almoſt let fall, and then again reſumed; and thus for above a year paſt: but, about this time, the Swedes come to the mediators, deſire their offices once more to the Danes upon this ſubject, and declare, that, without this liberty inſiſted upon ſo long for their couriers, they find themſelves incapable of giving advices neceſſary to their court, or receiving orders neceſſary from it; and that, without it, they muſt be forced to leave the aſſembly. This reſolution of the Swedes continued for ſome time ſo peremptory, that it was expected to come to that iſſue; but after ſome *fougue* ſpent for about a fortnight or three weeks upon this occaſion, and ſome temperament found out by the Dutch for the ſecure and ſpeedy paſſage of all the Swediſh diſpatches by Amſterdam, thoſe ambaſſadors began to grow ſoft and calm again, and to go on their uſual pace. Soon after, the French ambaſſadors, who had treated the Swediſh affairs and miniſters with great indifferency and neglect in this treaty (declaring to monſieur Van Beverning, their maſter would not part with one town in Flanders, to reſtore the Swedes to all they had loſt) began wholly to change their language, and ſay upon all occaſions, that France could not make a peace without the full ſatisfaction and reſtitution of the Swedes; and it was diſcourſed, that the French and Swedes had entered into a new alliance at Paris to this purpoſe: and ſome believed, it was by concert between them, that this *atteinte* was given by the Swedes to the congreſs; that the French had at that time a mind to break it, and to enter into a treaty with Spain under the pope's direction, and at Rome, not knowing to what meaſures his majeſty might be induced upon the progreſs of the French conqueſts, and the diſtempers raiſed in his parliament upon that occaſion. But, this guſt blown over, all was becalmed at Nimeguen;

Nimeguen; so that monsieur Olivecrans left that place about the end of August, upon a journey to Sweden.

Till this time the motions of business had been respited in the assembly upon a general expectation that the king was sending me over suddenly with the plan of a peace that he resolved should be made, and to which it was not doubted but all parties would yield, whatever it was; so great a regard was held, on all sides, of his majesty's will and power. But a greater stop was yet given to all further paces there by the prince of Orange's journey into England, about the end of September 1677, which wholly changed the scene of this treaty, and for the present carried it over to London, and left all other places at a gaze only, and in expectation of what should be there agitated and concluded.

## CHAP. III.

THE prince, like a hasty lover, came post from Harwich to New-market, where the court then was, as a season and place of country sports. My lord Arlington attended his highness at his alighting, making his pretence of the chief confidence with him; and the court expected it upon his alliance and journies into Holland. My lord treasurer and I went together to wait on him, but met him upon the middle of the stairs, in a great crowd, coming down to the king. He whispered to us both together, and said to me, that he must desire me to answer for him and my lord treasurer one to another, so as they might from that time enter both into business and conversation, as if they had been of a longer acquaintance; which was a wise strain, considering his lordship's credit in court at that time, and was of great use to the prince in the course of his affairs then in England; and though it much shocked my lord Arlington and his friends,

yet it could not be wondered at by ſuch as knew what had paſſed of late between the prince and him, with whom he only lived in common forms during his ſtay. He was very kindly received by the king and the duke, who both invited him often into diſcourſes of buſineſs, which they wondered to ſee him avoid or divert induſtriouſly, ſo as the king bid me find out the reaſon of it. The prince told me, he was reſolved to ſee the young princeſs before he entered into affairs; and to proceed in that, before the other of the peace. The king laughed at this piece of nicety, when I told it him; but however, to humour him in it, ſaid he would go ſome days ſooner than he had intended from Newmarket; which was accordingly done.

The prince, upon his arrival in town, and ſight of the princeſs, was ſo pleaſed with her perſon, and all thoſe ſigns of ſuch a humour as had been deſcribed to him upon former inquiries, that he immediately made his ſuit to the king and the duke; which was very well received and aſſented to, but with this condition, that the terms of a peace abroad might be firſt agreed on between them. The prince excuſed himſelf, and ſaid he muſt end his firſt buſineſs before he began the other. The king and duke were both poſitive in their opinion; and the prince reſolute in his; and ſaid at laſt, that his allies who were like to have hard terms of the peace as things then ſtood, would be apt to believe that he had made this match at their coſt, and, for his part, he would never ſell his honour for a wife. This prevailed not, but the king continued ſo poſitive for three or four days, that my lord treaſurer and I began to doubt the whole buſineſs would break upon this punctilio. About that time I chanced to go to the prince after ſupper, and found him in the worſt humour that I ever ſaw him: he told me, he repented he had ever come into England, and reſolved he would ſtay but two days longer, and then be gone, if the king

king continued in his mind of treating upon the peace before he was married; but that, before he went, the king must chuse how they should live hereafter, for he was sure it must be either like the greatest friends, or the greatest enemies; and desired me to let his majesty know so next morning, and give him an account of what he should say upon it. I did so, early in the morning; told the king all the prince had said to me the night before, and the ill consequences of a breach between them, considering the ill humour of so many of his subjects upon our late measures with France, and the invitations made the prince by several of them, during the late war. The king heard me with great attention; and, when I had done, said, 'Well, I never yet was deceived in judging of a man's honesty 'by his looks (of which he gave me some examples) 'and, if I am not deceived in the prince's face, he is 'the honestest man in the world, and I will trust him, 'and he shall have his wife, and you shall go immediately and tell my brother so, and that it is a thing I 'am resolved on.' I did so, and the duke at first seemed a little surprised; but, when I had done, he said, 'The 'king shall be obeyed, and I would be glad all his subjects would learn of me to obey him: I do tell him 'my opinion very freely upon any thing; but when 'that is done, and I know his pleasure upon it, I obey 'him.' From the duke I went to the prince, and told him my story, which he could at first hardly believe, but embraced me, and said I had made him a very happy man, and very unexpectedly: and so I left him to give the king an account of what had passed, and in the prince's anti-chamber met my lord treasurer, and told him the story, who undertook to adjust all the rest between the king and the prince; which he did so well, that the match was declared that evening at the committee, before any other in court knew any thing of it; and next day it was declared in council, and received there

and every where elſe in the kingdom, with the moſt univerſal joy that ever I ſaw any thing in the king's reign. The French ambaſſador and my lord Arlington appeared the only two perſons unſatisfied upon it at court; the firſt not knowing how he ſhould anſwer it to his maſter, that an affair of that importance ſhould paſs without his communication, much leſs advice, in a court where nothing before had done ſo for many years; and my lord Arlington, that it ſhould paſs without his knowledge, who ſtill endeavoured to keep up the court-opinion of his confidence with the prince; who told me the compliment his lordſhip had made him upon it, that ſome things good in themſelves were ſpoiled by the manner of doing them, as ſome things bad were mended by it; but he would confeſs this was a thing ſo good in itſelf, that the manner of doing it could not ſpoil it.

Within two or three days the marriage was conſummated, and immediately after, they fell into the debates upon the terms of the peace; to which, as to that of the match, none but my lord treaſurer and I were admitted. The prince inſiſted hard upon the ſtrength and enlargement of a frontier on both ſides of Flanders; without which, France, he ſaid, would end this war with the view of beginning another, and carrying Flanders in one campaign. The king was content to leave that buſineſs a little looſer; upon the confidence that France was ſo weary of this war, that, if they could get out of it with honour, they would never begin another in this reign; that the king grew paſt his youth, and lazy, and would turn to the pleaſures of the court, and building, and leave his neighbours in quiet. The prince thought France could not make a peace now, but to break the preſent confederacy, and to begin another war with more advantage and ſurprize; that their ambition would never end till they had all Flanders and Germany to the Rhine,

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and thereby Holland in an abſolute dependence upon them; which would leave them in an ill condition, and us in no good one; and that Chriſtendom could not be left ſafe by the peace, without ſuch a frontier as he propoſed for Flanders, and the reſtitution of Lorrain, as well as what the Emperor had loſt in Alſace. Upon this I told the king, that, in the courſe of my life, I had never obſerved men's natures to alter by age or fortunes; but that a good boy made a good man; and a young coxcomb, an old fool; and a young fripon, an old knave; and that quiet ſpirits were ſo, young as well as old, and unquiet ones would be ſo, old as well as young: that I believed the King of France would always have ſome bent or other, ſometimes war, ſometimes love, ſometimes building; but that I was of the prince's opinion, that he would make peace with a deſign of a new war, after he had fixed his conqueſt by the laſt: and the king approved what I ſaid. The points of Lorrain and Alſace were eaſily agreed to by the king and duke; but they would not hear of the county of Burgundy, as what France could never be brought to, though the prince inſiſted much upon it; ſo as the king imagined he was touched by the intereſt of his own lands in that country (which are greater and more ſeigneurial than thoſe of the crown of Spain there) and thereupon told him, that for his lands he would charge himſelf with either his enjoying them as ſafely under France, as Spain; or, if he ſhould rather chuſe to part with them, than have that dependence, he would undertake to get him what price he ſhould himſelf value them at. But the prince anſwered briſkly and generouſly, that he ſhould not trouble himſelf nor the peace about that matter; and that he would be content to loſe all his lands there, to get one good town more for the Spaniards, upon the frontier of Flanders. So all difficulties began to terminate upon what was eſteemed neceſſary there. This admitted great de-

bates between the king and prince; one pretending France would never be brought to one ſcheme; and the other, that Spain would never conſent to the other. But at laſt it was agreed, that the peace ſhould be made upon theſe terms: All to be reſtored by France to the Empire and Emperor that had been taken in the war; the duchy of Lorrain to that duke; and all on both ſides between France and Holland; and to Spain the towns of Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenarde, Courtray, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, St. Ghiſlain, and Binch. That the prince ſhould endeavour to procure the conſent of Spain, and his majeſty that of France; for which purpoſe he ſhould ſend ſome perſon immediately over with the propoſition, who ſhould be inſtructed to enter into no reaſonings upon it, but demand a poſitive anſwer in two days, and after that term immediately return. The queſtion was, Who ſhould go? and my lord treaſurer ſaid, It muſt be he or I, for none elſe had been acquainted with the debate of this buſineſs. The prince ſaid, It muſt be I, for my lord treaſurer could not be ſpared; and it muſt be ſome perſon upon whoſe judgment and truth he could rely, as to the intentions of that court. The king ordered me to be ready in two days, which I was; and the evening before I was to go, meeting his majeſty in the park, he called me to him, and a little out of countenance, told me, he had been thinking of my journey and my errand, and how unwelcome I ſhould be in France as well as my meſſage; and, having a mind to gain the peace, he was unwilling to anger them more than needs. Beſides, the thing being not to be reaſoned or debated, any body elſe would ſerve the turn as well as I, whom he had other uſe of; and therefore he had been thinking to ſend ſome other perſon. I ſaw he doubted I would take it ill; but told him, and very truly, he would do me the greateſt pleaſure in the world; for I never had leſs mind to any journey in my life, and ſhould not

have

have accepted it, but in perfect obedience. The king, that was the gentleſt prince in the world of his own nature, fell into good humour upon ſeeing I took it not ill, pretended to think whom he ſhould ſend, and at laſt aſked me what I thought of my lord Duras? I ſaid, Very well; upon which he ſeemed to reſolve it. But the thing had been agreed in the morning, as I was told, upon the duke's deſire, who thought France would accept the terms, and that the peace would be made, and had a mind to have the honour of it, by ſending a ſervant of his own. Whether there were any other motive, I know not; but my lord Duras went immediately with the orders before-mentioned; and, ſome few days after, the prince and princeſs embarked for Holland; where affairs preſſed his return beyond the hopes of my lord Duras's from France; the king aſſuring him, he would never part from the leaſt point of the ſcheme ſent over, and would enter into the war againſt France, if they refuſed it. However, he went not away without a great mortification, to ſee the parliament prorogued to next ſpring; which the French ambaſſador had gained of the king, to make up ſome good mien with France after the prince's marriage, and before the diſpatch of the terms of a peace to that court.

Upon my lord Duras's arrival at Paris, the court there was ſurpriſed, both at the thing, and more at the manner; but made good mien upon it, took it gently, ſaid, the king knew very well he might always be maſter of the peace; but ſome of the towns in Flanders ſeemed very hard, eſpecially Tournay, upon whoſe fortifications ſuch vaſt treaſures had been expended; and that they would take ſome ſhort time to conſider of the anſwer. My lord Duras told them, he was tied to two days ſtay; but, when that was out, he was prevailed with to ſtay ſome few days longer, and to come away without a poſitive anſwer: what he brought

brought was, what they had said to him before, that the most christian king hoped his brother would not break with him upon one or two towns; but, even upon them too, he would send orders to his ambassador at London to treat with his majesty himself. By this gain of time, and artificial drawing it into treaty without any positive refusal, this blow came to be eluded, which could not easily have been so any other way. The king was softened by the softness of France: the ambassador said at last, he had leave to yield all but Tournay, and to treat even for some equivalent for that too, if the king insisted absolutely upon it. The prince was gone, who had spirited the vigour of the whole resolution; and the treaty of it began to draw out into messages and returns from France.

However, the ill humour of people growing higher, upon the noise of a peace, and negotiated in France, and the late prorogation of parliament, this was by proclamation anticipated soon after my lord Duras's return, though a thing something unusual, and a countenance made as if the king resolved to enter into the war: for which the parliament seemed impatient, whenever the king seemed averse to it; but grew jealous of some tricks, whenever the court seemed inclined to it. About the end of December 1677, the king sent for me to the foreign committee, and told me, he could get no positive answer from France, and therefore resolved to send me into Holland, to make a league there with the States, for forcing both France and Spain, if either refused, to make the peace upon the terms he had proposed. I told the king, what he had agreed was to enter into the war with all the confederates, in case of no direct and immediate answer from France: that this, perhaps, would satisfy both the prince and confederates abroad, and the people at home: but to make such a league with Holland only would satisfy none of them, and disoblige both France

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and Spain; beſides, it would not have an effect or force as the triple-alliance had; that being a great original, of which this ſeemed but an ill copy; and therefore excuſed myſelf from going. The king was ſet upon it, though I pretended domeſtic affairs of great importance upon the death of my father: and pleaded ſo hard, that the duke at laſt deſired the king not to preſs me upon a thing I was ſo averſe from, and would be ſo inconvenient to me; and deſired I might propoſe who ſhould be ſent with the treaty. I made my acknowledgments to the duke for his favour, and propoſed that Mr. Thynn ſhould be ſent from the office with a draught of the treaty to Mr. Hide, who was then come from Nimeguen to the Hague, upon a viſit to the princeſs. This was done, and the treaty ſigned there on the ſixteenth of January, though not without great difficulties and diſſatisfaction of the prince; who was yet covered in it by the private conſent of the Spaniſh miniſter there, in behalf of his maſter; ſo as the war could not break but upon France, in caſe of their refuſal.

In the mean time, France draws out the treaty upon the terms at London into length, never raiſing more than one difficulty at a time, and expoſtulating the unkindneſs of breaking for the ſingle town of Tournay, though that was indeed more important than any three of the others, being the only ſtrong one to guard that ſide of the frontier, and giving way for any ſudden invaſion upon Ghent, and Antwerp, and the very heart of the country. But, while this game was playing in England, they had another on foot in Holland, eſpecially at Amſterdam, by raiſing jealouſies of the meaſures taken between the king and prince upon the marriage, as dangerous to the liberties of Holland; and making it there believed, that, by the match, the king and duke had drawn over the prince wholly into their intereſts or ſentiments: whereas the prince went away

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poſſeſſed to have by it drawn them indeed into his. They propoſed to the Dutch other terms of peace, far ſhort of the king's, and leſs ſafe for Flanders, reſtoring only ſix towns to the Spaniards, and mentioning Lorrain but ambiguouſly; which would not have gone down in Holland, but for the ſuſpicions raiſed by the prince's marriage among the people there, who had an incurable jealouſy of our court, and thereupon not that confidence of the prince that he deſerved.

There were two ruling burgomaſters at Amſterdam at this time, who had the whole ſway of that town, (as this has a great one in Holland) Hoeft and Valkenier; the firſt, a generous, honeſt man; of great patrimonial riches, learning, wit, humour, without ambition, having always refuſed all employments the ſtate had offered him, and ſerving only in that of burgomaſter of his town in his turn, and as little buſy in it as he could; a true genius, and that ſaid two things to me in converſation I had not heard before: one, That a man, who were to die to-morrow in torment, would yet enjoy to-day, if he were *ſain* [ſound]; and that it was ſome diſeaſe or decay of ſpirits that hindered it: the other, That a man was a *coyon* [a ſorry wight] who deſired to live after threeſcore; and that for his part, after that age, which he was then approaching, he ſhould be glad of the firſt good occaſion to die: and this he made good, dying with neglect upon a fit of the gout, talking with his friends till he was juſt ſpent, then ſending them away that he might not die in their ſight; and, when he found himſelf come a little again, ſending for them up, and telling them, *qu'il y avoit encore pour une demy heure de converſation* [that he had life ſtill for one half hour's converſation.] This was the character of monſieur Hoeft, who was a great intimate of mine, though he paſſed for a humorous man; and told me, I was the only ambaſſador he had ever viſited in his life. He had all the credit that could

could be in his town, without ſeeking, or minding, or uſing it; whereas Valkenier ſought and courted it all that could be, without having half the other's, being a moroſe and formal man, but of great induſtry, much thought, and, as was believed, avarice, and making the turns eaſily that were neceſſary in the government to carry his ends. Theſe two had long been enemies, and thought irreconcileable, till the French inſtruments at this time, with great art and induſtry, made up the quarrel, and joined them both in the deſign of making the peace upon the terms offered by France.

The parliament meets in January by anticipation of the ſeſſion, which ſeemed to import ſomething of great conſequence. The king acquaints them with the league he had made in Holland, and aſks them money upon it for putting himſelf in a poſture to carry on the war if the peace failed; which the parliament gave him, upon the hopes of the war, and not of the peace. The conſtitution of this parliament, that had ſat ſeventeen years, was grown into two known factions, which were called, that of court and country: the court-party were grown numerous, by a practice introduced by my lord Clifford, of downright buying off one man after another, as they could make the bargain. The country party was ſomething greater yet in number, and kept in more credit upon the corruption of others, and their own pretence of ſteadineſs to the true intereſt of the nation, eſpecially in the points of France and popery. Where theſe came in queſtion, many of the court party voted with thoſe of the country, who then carried all before them; but whenever the court ſeemed to fall in with the true intereſts of the nation, eſpecially in thoſe two points, then many of the country party, meaning fairly, fell in with the court, and carried the votes; as they now did, upon the king's pre-

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tence to grow bold with France, and to resolve upon the war if the peace were refused.

In October, Friburg had been taken by a feint of the duke of Crequi, before the duke of Lorrain could come to relieve it; and in the same month Stetin had been taken by the elector of Brandenburg, after a vigorous resistance; which left the scales as even as they were before between the two Leagues.

In January, upon the delays of France to agree to the king's conditions of a peace, his majesty entered into a negotiation with the ministers of the confederates at London, in case France went on to refuse them. But the hopes of a peace were on a sudden dashed by the French attempts upon Ypres, and threats of Ostend, whither the king immediately sends forces over, at the desire of the Spanish ambassador, for security of that important place. Nor did the French ambassador seem to resent at all this pace of his majesty, but continued his court and treaty with all the fairness that could be.

Towards the end of February, the king of France marching in the head of his army, and carrying the queen and ladies to Metz, seemed to threaten Luxembourg, or Namur, or Mons; but, having drawn the Spanish forces that way, on a sudden crosses the country, sits down before Ghent, and by the end of the month takes both that town and Ypres, and thereby gives a mighty alarm to Holland, and strengthens the credit and endeavours of those he had already disposed to his terms of a peace, as grown now absolutely necessary; while England seemed resolved to go into the war, or at least furnished the confederates with many such hopes. About the 1st of April, France made a public declaration of the terms upon which they were resolved to make the peace; which, though very different from those agreed between his majesty and Holland, and more from the pretensions of the allies, yet having, as to what concerned Spain and Holland, been

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firſt privately agreed with ſome leaders of the principal towns, proved indeed the plan of the peace both for Holland, and all the other confederates engaged in the war. And here the French began that imperious way of treating, which they afterwards purſued in the whole negotiation of the enſuing peace; declaring ſuch and ſuch were the conditions they would admit, and no other, and upon which their enemies might chooſe either peace or war, as they pleaſed, and to which France pretended not to be tied longer than to the 10th of May, after which they would be at liberty to change or reſtrain them as they ſhould think fit.

About this time I happened to be with my lord treaſurer one evening in his cloſet when a packet came to him from Mr. Montague ambaſſador at Paris, giving him an account of a large conference monſieur de Louvois had lately had with him, by the king his maſter's order; wherein he repreſented the meaſures they had already taken for a peace in Holland upon the French terms: that, ſince they were agreed there, they hoped his majeſty would not be againſt it: that, however, France had ordered him to make his majeſty the offer of a great ſum of money for his conſent, though to a thing already accepted by Holland, and wherein his majeſty was conſequently not concerned: that monſieur de Louvois deſired the ambaſſador to write this immediately to the lord treaſurer, and to offer him a very conſiderable ſum for himſelf, that ſhould be ſent over in money, jewels, or by bills, as he ſhould chuſe: and Mr. Montague added, that it was deſired this affair ſhould be treated only between them two, and not communicated to either of the ſecretaries of ſtate. My lord treaſurer read the letter to me; and I ſaid, 'Well, my 'lord, what do you ſay to the offer?' He anſwered, That he thought it was the ſame thing, as if it ſhould be made to the king, to have Windſor put into the French hands, and ſo he ſhould treat it; and that we had

had nothing to do but to go on with our treaty with the confederates. This his lordſhip and I were charged with, and had brought near a concluſion, when letters came from Mr. Hide, with repreſentations made him, from the Penſioner at the Hague, of the diſpoſitions in Holland running violently into a peace, and the abſolute neceſſity he thought there was of concluding it, upon the taking of Ghent, and danger of Antwerp, which was then threatened, and the loſs whereof would be ſo fatal to the trade of Holland, eſpecially Amſterdam. Hereupon Mr. Godolphin was diſpatched immediately into Holland, to bring the laſt and ſureſt account he could get of the reſolutions there upon this affair, and return with the greateſt ſpeed he could. He did ſo, and brought the ſame account of all diſpoſitions which Mr. Hide had given; and, in the proceſs of our treaty with the confederates, monſieur Van Beuninghen, when he came to the point, was forced to confeſs, that he had no powers to conclude, without firſt communicating to the States, which muſt draw into length and uncertainty.

About this time, the French ambaſſador began to change his language, who had ever before pretended that his majeſty ſhould be always arbiter of the peace; but now aſſuring that his maſter had agreed with Holland, he ſeemed to wonder and expoſtulate, why the king ſhould pretend to obtain better terms for the Spaniards, than their allies the Dutch were content with.

I was then preſſed by the king and lord treaſurer, to go into Holland to know their final reſolutions, whether they would yet go on with the war in caſe his majeſty ſhould go into it? But I excuſed myſelf, knowing the Dutch were too much preſſed, by ſo near approaches of France, to declare themſelves upon a reſerve of the king's; and ſaid, If his majeſty reſolved to go that way, he muſt firſt take his meaſures with the parliament for the war, and then ſend them word in Holland

land, he was ready to declare it in case they would pursue it: and, upon this message, I knew the Dutch so well, as to believe they would do it, and keep close to their late alliance with his majesty. This the king was unwilling to do; but posted Mr. Godolphin again into Holland about the middle of April, to know their final resolutions, and prorogued the parliament for fourteen days.

During these negotiations, and since the money given by the parliament, and in six weeks time, the king had raised an army of about twenty thousand men, the completest, and in all appearance the bravest troops that could be any where seen; and might have raised many more upon so great a concurrence of the people's humour with his majesty's seeming design of entering into a war against France: and it was confessed by all the foreign ministers, that no king in Christendom could have made and completed such a levy as this appeared at such a time.

My lord treasurer, upon the 20th, came to me and assured me of the king's resolution being at length fixed to go into the war; and desired me to prepare what the king was to say to the parliament upon this occasion; which I did. When I carried it to my lord treasurer, I met there letters from Mr. Hide and Mr. Godolphin, that Holland absolutely desired a peace, even upon the terms proposed by France; and had resolved to send monsieur Van Lewen over hither, to dispose the king to be contented with them. He arrived, and the king sent me immediately to him to know his errand. He was the chief of the town of Leyden, and had joined with Amsterdam, Haerlem, Delft, and some others, in promoting the peace, even upon the French conditions; but being a man of great honour and worth, and having done it upon the suspicion that England was still at bottom in with France, and that all the rest was but grimace; the prince had procured him to

be ſent over, on purpoſe to ſatisfy himſelf (and thereby his complices for the peace) that the king's intentions were determined to enter into the war, which his highneſs thought the only means to prevent the peace.

When I came to monſieur Van Lewen, he told me freely, that it was the moſt againſt their hearts in Holland that could be, to make a peace upon terms ſo low and unſafe for Flanders; and that, if the king had gone into war, as was promiſed, upon France delaying or refuſing to accept his ſcheme, they would certainly have continued it: but his majeſty's proceedings looked ever ſince ſo uncertain or unreſolved, that it had raiſed jealouſies in Holland of our meaſures being at bottom fixed and cloſe with France; which made moſt of the towns in Holland think they had nothing elſe left to do, but to go in with them too as faſt as they could, and the approach of the French army to Antwerp left them now no time to deliberate; yet he profeſſed to me in private, that if the king would immediately declare the war, he believed the States would ſtill go on with it, in purſuit of their alliance, and the terms therein contained.

I made this report to the king, who ſeemed poſitive to declare the war, in caſe the parliament adviſed him, and promiſed to ſupport it: when an unlucky peeviſh vote, moved by Sir T—— C—— in ſpite to my lord treaſurer, paſſed the houſe of commons, that no money ſhould be given, till ſatisfaction was received in matters of religion. This left all ſo looſe and ſo lame, that the king was in a rage, reproached me with my popular notions, as he termed them; and aſked me when, or how, I thought he could truſt the houſe of commons to carry him through the war, if he ſhould engage in it? And I had not much indeed to ſay, conſidering the temper and factions of the houſe; nor could I well clear it to myſelf, by my obſervation, whether the king was firmly reſolved to enter into the war; or, if he

he did, whether the houſe of commons would have ſupported him in it, or turned it only to ruin the miniſters by the king's neceſſities. 'Tis certain, no vote could ever have paſſed more unhappily, nor in ſuch a counter-ſeaſon, nor more croſs to the humour of the houſe, which ſeemed generally bent upon engaging his majeſty in the war; and the perſon that moved it was, I believe, himſelf as much of that mind as any of the reſt; but having, ſince the loſs of his employment at court, ever acted a part of great animoſity in oppoſition to the preſent miniſtry, in whoſe hands ſoever it was; this private ill humour carried him contrary to his public intentions, as it did many more in the houſe, who pretended to be very willing to ſupply the king upon occaſion of the war, or even of his debts, but that they would not do it during my lord treaſurer's miniſtry. In ſhort, there was ſuch a fatal and mutual diſtruſt both in the court and parliament, as it was very hard to fall into any ſound meaſures between them. The king, at laſt, now ſaw he had loſt his time of entering into the war, if he had a mind to it; and that he ought to have done it (upon my lord Duras's return, and) with the whole confederacy. And my lord Eſſex told me, I had been a prophet, in refuſing to go into Holland to make that alliance, which had, as I ſaid, pleaſed none at home or abroad, and had now loſt all our meaſures in Holland, and turned theirs upon France.

But the turn that the king gave all this was, that, ſince the Dutch would have a peace upon the French terms, and France offered money for his conſent to what he could not help, he did not know why he ſhould not get the money; and thereupon ordered me to treat upon it with the French ambaſſador, who had orders to that purpoſe. I would have excuſed myſelf; but he ſaid, I could not help ſeeing him, for he would be with me at my houſe by ſeven next morning: he ac-

cordingly came, and I told him very truly, I had been ill in the night, and could not enter into buſineſs. The ambaſſador was much diſappointed, and preſſed me all he could; but I defended myſelf upon my illneſs till at length he left me without entering upon any thing. When I got up, I went immediately to Sheen, writ to my lord treaſurer by my wife, May the tenth, 1678, how much I was unſatisfied with being put upon ſuch a treaty with the French ambaſſador, that belonged not at all to my poſt, and which they knew I thought diſhonourable to the king; and thereupon I offered to reſign to his majeſty both my embaſſy at Nimeguen, and promiſe of ſecretary of ſtate's place, to be diſpoſed of by his majeſty as he pleaſed. My lord treaſurer ſent me word, the king forced no man upon what he had no mind to; but if I reſolved this ſhould be ſaid to him, I muſt do it myſelf, or by ſome other, for he would not make my court ſo ill as to ſay it for me; and ſo it reſted, and I continued at Sheen, without ſtirring till the king ſent for me.

In the mean time, from the beginning of May, the ill humour of the houſe of commons began to break out by ſeveral diſcourſes and votes againſt the miniſters and their conduct; which increaſed the ill opinion his majeſty had conceived of their intentions in preſſing him to enter upon a war. Yet, notwithſtanding all this, he had (as I was told by a good hand) conceived ſuch an indignation at one article of the private treaty propoſed by monſieur Barillon, that he ſaid he would never forget it while he lived; and though he ſaid nothing to me of his reſentment, yet he ſeemed at this time more reſolved to enter into the war, than I had ever before ſeen or thought him.

Monſieur de Ruvigny, the ſon, was diſpatched into France to know the laſt intentions of that court upon the terms of the peace propoſed by his majeſty, but brought no anſwer clear or poſitive; ſo as his majeſty

majeſty went on to complete his levies, and to prepare for the war: but, May the eleventh, the houſe of commons paſſed another negative upon the debate of money; which ſo offended the king, that he prorogued them for ten days, believing in that time his intentions to enter into the war would appear ſo clear as to ſatisfy the houſe, and put them in better humour. Monſieur Van Lewen, diſtaſted with theſe delays, and the counterpaces between king and parliament, begins to diſcourſe boldly of the neceſſity his maſters found to make the peace as they could, ſince there was no relying upon any meaſures with England for carrying on the war, and the ſeaſon was too far advanced to admit any longer delays. Upon theſe diſcourſes from him, his majeſty began to cool his talk of a war, and to ſay, the peace muſt be left to the courſe which Holland had given it: and though, upon May the twenty-third, the parliament met, and ſeemed in much better temper than they parted, yet news coming about the ſame time that monſieur Van Beverning was ſent by the States to the French court at Ghent, to propoſe a ceſſation of arms for ſix weeks, in order to negotiate and agree the terms of the peace in that time, the affair began now to be looked upon, both in court and parliament, as a thing concluded, or at leaſt as like to receive no other motion than what ſhould be given it by Holland and France. And indeed, the diſpoſitions were ſo inclined to it on both ſides, that the terms were ſoon adjuſted between them. Theſe articles having been ſo public, I ſhall not trouble myſelf to inſert them, but only ſay, they ſeemed ſo hard, both to Spain, and to the northern princes, who had made great conqueſts upon the Swedes, that they all declared they would never accept them; and when the French ambaſſadors at Nimeguen deſired Sir Lionel Jenkins to carry them to the confederates, he refuſed to do it, or to have part in a treaty or conditions of peace, ſo different from what

the king his master had proposed, and that both his majesty and Holland had obliged themselves to pursue by their late treaty at the Hague.

About this time, France, by a conduct very surprising, having sent monsieur de la Feuillade to Messina, with a common expectation of re-inforcing the war in Sicily, shewed the intention was very different, and of a sudden ordered all their forces to abandon that island, with whom many Messineses returned, fearing the vengeance of the Spaniards, to whom they were now exposed: and this was the only important service done that crown by all his majesty's intentions or preparations to assist them; for no man doubted that the abandoning of Sicily was wholly owing to the apprehensions in France of a war with England, which they thought would give them but too much occasion for employing of their forces. And indeed the eyes and hopes of all the confederates were now turned so wholly upon England for any resource in their affairs, after Holland had deserted them (as they thought) by such precipitate terms of a peace, that many of the chief ministers at Nimeguen left that place, as of no more use to the treaty it was designed for, and went into England, where they thought the whole scene of that affair then lay; among whom was count Antoine the Danish ambassador, and soon after, monsieur Olivecrans the Swedish, with the elector of Brandenburg's envoy, and several others.

However, the negotiation continued there, between the French ambassadors and monsieur Van Beverning, till he was sent to the French camp; where he concluded the terms of the peace towards the end of June, and a cessation from all hostilities in Flanders for six weeks, which was given to the Dutch, to endeavour the Spaniards entering into the peace upon the terms they had proposed for them. And, in the whole course of this negotiation, France seemed to have no regards, but for Holland; and for them so much, that the most

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chriſtian king aſſured the States, that though Spain ſhould not agree, yet he had ſuch a care of their ſatiſfaction, that he would always provide ſuch a barrier in Flanders ſhould be left, as they thought neceſſary for their ſafety; and that after the peace ſhould be made, and the ancient amity reſtored, he would be ready to enter into ſuch engagements and meaſures with them, as ſhould for ever ſecure their repoſe and their liberty.

This was by all interpreted an invidious word, put in on purpoſe to cajole the enemies of the prince, who ever pretended the ſuſpicions of his affecting more authority than they deſired; and therefore kept up a popular party in the State, the chief of whom had been the chief promoters of the preſent peace. And indeed the prince was not at all reſerved in the endeavours of oppoſing it, but uſed all that was poſſible and agreeable to the forms of the State: yet all in vain, the humour having ſpread ſo far, at firſt in Holland, and from thence into the other provinces, that it was no longer to be oppoſed or diverted by the prince.

In the mean time, England was grown pretty indifferent in the matter of the peace, and Spain ſeemed well inclined to accept their part of it: but the Emperor, the king of Denmark, and elector of Brandenburg fell into the higheſt declarations and reproaches againſt the States, that could be well invented; ripping up all they had ventured and ſuffered in a war they had begun only for the preſervation of Holland; how they were now abandoned by them, in pretending to conclude imperious and arbitrary terms of a peace upon them without their conſent: that they were willing to treat with France, and make a peace upon any ſafe and reaſonable conditions; but would never endure to have them impoſed as from a conqueror; and would venture all, rather than accept them, eſpecially thoſe for the duke of Lorrain, whoſe caſe was the worſt treated

though the moſt favoured in appearance by all the confederates, and the leaſt conteſted by France.

Notwithſtanding all theſe ſtorms from their allies, the Dutch were little moved, and held on their courſe, having ſmall regard to the ſatisfaction of any, beſides Spain, in what concerned the ſafety of Flanders; and the neceſſities of that crown made them eaſy, though as little contented as the reſt: ſo as the peace was upon the point of ſigning by French and Dutch ambaſſadors, when an unexpected incident fell in, which had like to have overturned this whole fabric, and to have renewed the war with greater heats, and more equal forces, by engaging England to a ſhare of it in favour of the confederates, which they had been long practiſing without ſucceſs, and now without hopes.

In the conditions, which Holland had made for the French reſtoring the ſix towns in Flanders to Spain, there was no particular mention made of the time of that reſtitution; the Dutch underſtanding, as well as the Spaniards, that it was to be upon the ratifications of the peace with Spain and Holland, whether any of the other allies on each ſide were included or no. But, when the Dutch treaty was near ſigning, the marquis de Balbaces either found or made ſome occaſion of enquiring more particularly of the French intentions upon this point. The French ambaſſadors made no difficulty of declaring, that the king, their maſter, being obliged to ſee an entire reſtitution made to the Swedes of all they had loſt in the war, could not evacuate the towns in Flanders, till thoſe to the Swedes were likewiſe reſtored; and that this detention of places was the only means to induce the princes of the North to accept of the peace.

Monſieur Van Beverning gave account to his maſters of this new pretence, and the States ordered him to let the French ambaſſadors know, he could not ſign the peace without the reſtitution of the places in Flanders

ders upon the ratification of the treaty. The French ambaſſadors were firm on the other ſide, and ſaid, their orders were poſitive to inſiſt upon the reſtitution of Sweden. The States hereupon ſent to monſieur Van Lewen, to acquaint his majeſty with this unexpected incident, and to know his opinion and reſolution upon a point of ſo great moment to the peace of Chriſtendom on the one ſide, and to the ſafety of Flanders on the other. The king was difficult at firſt to believe it; but ſending to the French ambaſſador at London to know the truth of it, and finding him own his maſter's intention not to evacuate the towns till the general peace was concluded, and Sweden ſatisfied, he was both ſurpriſed and angry at this proceeding of France; and next morning ſent for me to the foreign committee, and there declared his reſolution of ſending me immediately into Holland, with commiſſion to ſign a treaty with the States, by which they ſhould be obliged to carry on the war, and his majeſty to enter into it, in caſe France ſhould not conſent, within a certain time limited, to evacuate the towns. The duke fell into this counſel with great warmth, and ſaid at the committee, That it was plain by this pace, that France was not ſincere in the buſineſs of the peace; that they aimed at the univerſal monarchy; and that none but his majeſty could hinder them from it, in the poſture that Chriſtendom ſtood. All the lords of the committee agreed, with ſo general a concurrence, that it was hard to imagine this ſhould not prove a ſteady reſolution, how little ſoever we had been given to any ſuch. His majeſty took the pains to preſs Van Lewen to go over with me, to perſuade the States of the ſincerity and conſtancy of his reſolution to purſue this meaſure with the utmoſt of his power, and took upon himſelf to excuſe to the States, his maſters, the making this journey without their conſent.

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Upon this diſpatch, Mr. Godolphin, who had been ſo lately in Holland, told me, that, if I brought the States to the treaty his majeſty propoſed upon this occaſion, he would move the parliament to have my ſtatue ſet up; the ſucceſs whereof may deſerve a further remark in its due place.

Monſieur Van Lewen and I went over in July 1678, in two ſeveral yachts; but met ſoon at the Hague, where, upon my firſt conference with the commiſſioners of ſecret affairs, one of them made me the handſomeſt Dutch compliment I had met with, That they eſteemed my coming into Holland, like that of the ſwallow, which brought fair weather always with it.

The prince received me with the greateſt joy in the world; hoping by my errand, and the ſucceſs of it, either to continue the war, or recover ſuch conditions of peace for his allies, as had been wreſted out of his hands by force of a faction begun at Amſterdam, and ſpread ſince into the reſt of the provinces.

To make way for this negotiation, I concerted with monſieur Van Lewen to dine at his country-houſe, with monſieur Hoeft of Amſterdam, Van Tielt of Haerlem, Patz of Rotterdam, and two or three more of the chief burgomaſters who had promoted the peace, or rather precipitated it, upon the French conditions. After dinner, we entered into long conferences, in which monſieur Van Lewen aſſured them with great confidence of the king's ſincerity in the reſolutions he had taken, and ſeconded very effectually all I had to ſay upon that ſubject; which had the more credit from one who has gone as far as any of them in purſuit and acceptance of the peace.

The prince was impatient to know what had paſſed in this meeting, which made me go to him that evening; and I told him, that I was very confident to have found, that monſieur Patz, was incurable, and not otherwiſe to be dealt with; but that all the reſt were

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good and well meaning perſons to their country, abuſed firſt by jealouſies of his Highneſs's match in England, by apprehenſions of our court being wholly in the meaſures of France, and by the plauſible offers of France towards ſuch a peace as they could deſire for themſelves: that they were ſomething enlightened by the late refuſal of delivering up the Spaniſh towns till the ſatisfaction of Sweden; and would, I doubted not, awaken their ſeveral towns, ſo as to make them receive favourably his majeſty's propoſition upon this conjuncture. It happened accordingly; for monſieur Hoeft propoſing at Amſterdam to make a trial and judgment of the ſincerity of France upon the whole proceeding of the peace, by their evacuating the Spaniſh towns, and without it to continue the war, he carried his point there, in ſpite of Valkenier; and the ſame followed in all the reſt of the towns; ſo that, when I fell into this negotiation, I concluded the treaty in ſix days; by which France was obliged to declare within fourteen after the date thereof, that they would evacuate the Spaniſh towns; or, in caſe of their refuſal, Holland was engaged to go on with the war, and England immediately to declare it againſt France, in conjunction with Holland, and the reſt of the confederates.

It is hardly to be imagined what a new life this gave to the authority and fortunes of the prince of Orange, who was now owned by the States to have made a truer judgment, than they had done, of the meaſures they were to expect both from France and England; the laſt having proceeded ſo reſolutely to the offers of entering into the war (which was never believed in Holland) and France, after raiſing ſo important a difficulty in the peace, having proceeded in the war ſo far as to block up Mons, one of the beſt frontiers remaining to Flanders; which was expected to fall into their hands before

before the term fixed for the concluſion or rupture of the peace ſhould expire.

Preparations were made with the greateſt vigour imaginable for his highneſs's expedition to relieve Mons; and about ten thouſand Engliſh, already arrived in Flanders, were ordered to march that way and join the prince. He went into the field, with a firm belief that the war would certainly go on, ſince France ſeemed too far engaged in honour to yield the evacuation of the towns; and though they ſhould, yet Spain could not be ready to agree and ſign the peace within the term limited: and he thought that he left the States reſolved not to conclude otherwiſe than in conjunction with that crown: and beſides, he hoped to engage the French army before the term for ſigning the peace ſhould expire; and reſolved to relieve Mons, or die in the attempt, whether the peace ſucceeded or no; ſo as the continuance of the war ſeemed inevitable. But no man, ſince Solomon, ever enough conſidered how ſubject all things are to time and chance, nor how poor diviners the wiſeſt men are of future events, how plainly ſoever all things may ſeem laid towards the producing them; nor upon how ſmall accidents the greateſt counſels and revolutions turn; which was never more proved than by the courſe and event of this affair.

After the treaty concluded and ſignified to France, all the arts, that could be, were on that ſide employed to elude it, by drawing this matter into treaty, or into greater length, which had ſucceeded ſo well in England. They offered to treat upon it at St. Quintin, then at Ghent, where the king himſelf would meet ſuch ambaſſadors as the Dutch ſhould ſend to either of theſe towns. But the States were firm not to recede from their late treaty concluded with his majeſty, and ſo continued till about five days before the term was to expire. Then arrived from England one De Croſs, formerly

formerly a French monk, who ſometime ſince had left his frock for a petticoat, and inſinuated himſelf ſo far in the Swediſh court, as to procure a commiſſion (or credence at leaſt) for a certain petty agency in England. At London he had devoted himſelf wholly to monſieur Barillon the French ambaſſador, though pretending to purſue the intereſt of Sweden. About a week after I had ſent a ſecretary into England with the treaty ſigned, this man brought me a packet from court, commanding me to go immediately away to Nimeguen; and there to endeavour all I could (and from his majeſty) to perſuade the Swediſh ambaſſadors to let the French there know, that they would, for the good of Chriſtendom, conſent, and even deſire the king of France, no longer to defer the evacuation of the towns, and conſequently the peace, upon the ſole regard and intereſt of the crown of Sweden. I was likewiſe commanded to aſſure the ſaid ambaſſadors, that, after this peace, his majeſty would uſe all the moſt effectual endeavours he could, for reſtitution of the towns and countries the Swedes had loſt in the war.

It was not eaſy for any man to be more ſurpriſed than I was by this diſpatch; but the Penſioner Fagel was ſtunned, who came and told me the whole contents of it, before I had mentioned it to any man; and, that De Croſs had gone about moſt induſtriouſly to the deputies of the ſeveral towns, and acquainted them with it; and, that the terms of peace were abſolutely conſented and agreed between the two kings; that he had brought me orders to go ſtraight to Nimeguen; and, that I ſhould, at my arrival there, meet with letters from my lord Sunderland, the king's ambaſſador at Paris, with all the particulars concluded between them.

How this diſpatch by De Croſs was gained, or by whom, I will not pretend to determine: but, upon my next return for England, the duke told me, that he

he knew nothing of it till it was gone, having been a hunting that morning. My lord treasurer said all that could be to excuse himself of it; and I never talked of it to secretary Williamson; but the king indeed told me pleasantly, That the rogue De Cros had outwitted them all. The account I met with at court was that these orders were agreed and dispatched one morning in an hour's time, and in the duchess of Portsmouth's chamber, by the intervention and pursuit of monsieur Barillon. However it was, and what endeavours soever were made immediately after, at our court, to retrieve this game, it never could be done; and this one incident changed the whole fate of Christendom; and with so little seeming ground for any such counsel, that, before De Cros's arrival at the Hague, the Swedish ambassadors at Nimeguen had made the very same declaration and instances to the French ambassadors there, that I was posted away from the Hague upon the pretence of persuading them to resolve on.

When I arrived at Nimeguen, there remained but three days of the term fixed by the late treaty between his majesty and the States, at the Hague, either for the French assent to the evacuation of the towns, or for the carrying on of the war in conjunction of England with Holland, and consequently the rest of the confederates. I found all men there persuaded, that the peace would not succeed; and indeed all appearances were against it. The French ambassadors had given many reasons, in a formal sort of manifesto, to the Dutch, why the king, their master, could not consent to it without the previous satisfaction of Sweden, whose interests he esteemed the same with his own; but yet declaring he was willing to receive any expedients, the States should offer in this matter, either by their ambassadors at Nimeguen, or such as they should send to his most christian majesty at St. Quintin, or Ghent. The Dutch gave them an answer in writing, declaring,

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it was a matter no longer entire, ſince, upon the difficulty raiſed about the evacuation of the towns, the States, their maſters, had been induced to ſign a treaty with England, from which they could not recede, nor from the day therein fixed for determining the fate of either peace or war; and as there was no time, ſo there could be no uſe of any deputation to St. Quintin, or Ghent, nor any other expedient, beſides the aſſent of France to evacuate the towns. After this, the French ambaſſadors had declared to the Dutch, that they had found the king their maſter was reſolved, at the deſire of the Swedes, to retard the peace no longer upon their conſideration; and would conſent to evacuate the towns, upon condition the States would ſend their deputies to treat upon the ways of ſecuring the future ſatisfaction to Sweden, which was by both intended. But the Dutch ambaſſadors continued peremptory, that there could be no deputation made by their maſters; and, that if the term fixed by the late treaty with England ſhould elapſe, there was no remedy but the war muſt go on. To this the French ambaſſadors replying, that their hands were bound up from proceeding further without ſuch a deputation, the peace was thereupon eſteemed deſperate; and the more ſo, becauſe at the ſame time, the duke of Luxemburg preſſed Mons, and the marſhal de Schomberg ſeemed to threaten Cologne, demanding of them immediate ſatisfaction of the money that had been ſeized during the aſſembly there; and Bruſſels itſelf grew unquiet, upon their finding themſelves almoſt ſurrounded by French troops; ſo as the confederate miniſters thought themſelves ſecure of what they had ſo much and ſo long deſired and aimed at, which was a long war in conjunction with England: for they neither believed France would yield a point they had ſo long and ſo publicly conteſted; nor (if they did) that the Dutch would ſuffer their ambaſſadors to ſign the peace without Spain; and

and the time was now too near expiring for agreeing the terms and draught of a treaty between the two crowns, which had not yet been in any kind digested.

In the midst of these appearances and dispositions at Nimeguen, came the fatal day, agreed by the late treaty at the Hague, for determining whether a sudden peace, or a long war, were to be reckoned upon in Christendom; when, in the morning early, monsieur Boreel, who had been sent from Amsterdam to the Dutch ambassadors at Nimeguen, went to the French ambassadors; and, after some conference with them, these three ambassadors went immediately to those of Holland, and declared to them, they had received orders to consent to the evacuation of the towns, and thereupon to sign the peace, but that it must be done that very morning. Whether the Dutch were surprised or no, they seemed to be so; and, entering into debate upon several of the articles, as well as upon the interests of Spain, this conference lasted near five hours: but ended in agreement upon all the points, both of peace and commerce, between France and Holland, and orders for writing all fair with the greatest haste that was possible, so as the treaty might be signed that night.

About four in the afternoon the French ambassadors, having demanded an hour of me and Sir Lionel came to us at my house, gave us an account of their agreement with the Dutch ambassadors upon all points in difference between them, and of the treaty's being so ordered, as that it should be signed that evening; and made us the offer that they would all come, and sign it at my house, that so we might have the part in it that was due to the mediators.

We answered them, that, having been sent by his majesty with instructions only to mediate a general peace, we could not by our orders assist at the signing of a particular one; and therefore desired them to excuse us from having any part in this conclusion between them

them and the Dutch, either by the ſigning it at our houſes, or by uſing our names as mediators in the treaty.

The Dutch ambaſſadors came to us likewiſe with the ſame communication and offer, and received the ſame anſwer; and I obſerved their converſation, upon this mighty and ſudden turn, to be a good deal embarraſſed, and ſomething irreſolute, and not very well agreed between the two ambaſſadors themſelves. Monſieur Van Beverning complained of the uncertainty of our conduct in England, and the incurable jealouſies that De Croſs's journey had raiſed in Holland: That, ſince the king ſtill deſired the peace, his maſters had nothing to do but to conclude it; and that they, the ambaſſadors, took themſelves to be ſo inſtructed, as that they muſt ſign the peace upon the offers made by the French to evacuate the towns. Monſieur Van Haren did not ſeem to me ſo clear in point of their orders; and I never could learn whether, upon De Croſs's arrival and diſcourſes at the Hague, the States-deputies there had ſent orders to their ambaſſadors at Nimeguen to ſign the peace (even without the Spaniards) in caſe of the French aſſenting to the evacuation of the towns before the day appointed for that purpoſe ſhould expire; or whether only the town of Amſterdam had by Boreel ſent that advice to monſieur Van Beverning, with aſſurances to bear him out in what he did, where his orders might receive a doubtful ſenſe or interpretation. However it were, monſieur Van Beverning was bent upon giving this ſudden end of the war, and ſuch a quick diſpatch to the draught of the treaty, that it was agreed in all articles, and written out fair, ſo as to be ſigned between eleven and twelve at night. And thus were eluded all the effects of the late treaty concluded at the Hague, and the hopes conceived by the confederates of the war's going on; which ſo provoked ſeveral of their miniſters, as to engage them in ſharp

and violent proteſtations againſt the Dutch ambaſſadors, by which they hoped to deter them from ſigning the peace without new orders from their maſters. But all was to no purpoſe, Van Beverning was unmoved, and the thing was done.

The day after the peace was ſigned, came an expreſs to me from court, with the ratifications of the late treaty between his Majeſty and the States, and orders to me immediately to proceed to the exchange of them: which was ſuch a counterpace to the diſpatch I had received by De Croſs, and to the conſequences of it, which had ended in the concluſion of the peace, and thereby rendered the late treaty of no farther uſe, that the ratification ſeemed now as unneceſſary, as it had been at firſt unreſolved at our court, and unexpected from us by the Dutch. However, I went away immediately upon this expreſs; and, next day after my arrival at the Hague, made an exchange of the ratifications according to the orders I received.

I found the penſioner and ſeveral other of the deputies very much unſatisfied with the peace, and more with the precipitation of monſieur Van Beverning to ſign it upon the ſudden offer of the French ambaſſadors to evacuate the towns, and before he had acquainted the States with it, and received new orders upon it. They ſaid his inſtructions could not warrant him; they talked of calling him in queſtion for it, and of diſavowing what he had done, and thereupon of having recourſe to the treaty with his majeſty, (which they now ſaw ratified) and of continuing the war in conjunction with England; and the rather, becauſe they ſaw France had no mind to venture it, but had choſen to ſtoop from thoſe high flights they had ſo long made in all tranſactions with their neighbours either of war or peace. But others of the Deputies, eſpecially thoſe of Amſterdam, declared their ſatisfaction in this concluſion at Nimeguen, argued, that the weakneſs

weakneſs of their confederates, eſpecially Spain, and the unſteadineſs or irreſolution of England, had made the peace of abſolute neceſſity to Holland; and excuſed any precipitation of their ambaſſadors in ſigning that day, or without clear and poſitive orders, upon the emergency being ſo ſudden and ſurpriſing, and the time ſo critical, that the delay of ſending to the Hague muſt of neceſſity have engaged the States in their obligations of the late treaty with England, and thereby in a neceſſity of continuing the war.

The truth is, I never obſerved, either in what I had ſeen or read, any negotiation managed with greater addreſs and ſkill, than this had been by the French in the whole courſe of the affair; eſpecially ſince the prince of Orange's match, which was thought to have given them ſo great a blow, and by force of conduct was turned ſo much to their advantage. 'Tis certain and plain, they never intended to continue the war, if England ſhould fall with ſuch weight into the ſcale of the confederates, as the force of that kingdom and humour of the people would have given to ſuch a conjunction; and conſequently, that his majeſty might have preſcribed what terms he pleaſed of the peace, during the whole courſe of his mediation: for beſides the reſpect which the French have for our troops, both horſe and foot, more than any others, eſpecially ſince the ſervices and advantages they received from them in all their actions againſt the Germans; beſides the terror of a conjunction between our naval forces and the Dutch, and of deſcents upon their coaſts, with the dangerous influences that might make upon the diſcontents of their people; they wiſely foreſaw another conſequence of our falling into this confederacy, which muſt unavoidably have proved more mortal to them than all the reſt, in two years time. For whereas the wealth of France, which makes their greatneſs, ariſes from the infinite conſumption made, by ſo many

neighbouring countries, of so many and rich commodities as the native soil and climate, or ingenuity of the people produces in France; in case this war had gone on, with England engaged in it, all these veins of such infinite treasure had been stopped at once, or at least left open only to some parts of Italy, which neither takes off their wines, their salts, nor their modes in habit or equipage, that draw so vast expences upon all the provinces almost of Europe which lie northward of France, and drain such vast sums of money from all their neighbours, into that fruitful and noble kingdom, more favoured by nature, in my opinion, than any other in the world: but the loss of this advantage, upon the necessity, folly, or luxury of others, must, in two or three years time, reduce them to such weakness in those sinews of the war, by so general a poverty and misery among their people, that there would need no other effect of such a general confederacy, to consume the strength and force of that nation. This they very prudently foresaw, and never intended to venture; but, having reason to apprehend it from the Prince of Orange's match in England, they took it without resentment; nay, improved it rather into new kindness than quarrel, making use of the king's good nature to engage him in a prorogation of the parliament immediately after; which made it appear, both at home and abroad, that they had still the ascendant upon our court. They eluded the effects of the message sent them by lord Duras with his majesty's scheme of the peace, by drawing it out into expostulations of kindness, and so into treaty. During this amusement of our court, they plied their business in Holland yet with greater art and industry, poisoned the people there with jealousies of the prince's match in England, and of designs from both upon their liberties by a long and unnecessary continuance of the war. They united the factions in Amsterdam upon the scent of a peace, and upon their own con-

conditions, to avoid those that had been proposed by his majesty. When they had gained their point with the several deputies in Holland, they acquainted the king with their being sure of the peace on that side; and, by his ambassador at Paris, made offers of mighty sums, both to himself and his chief minister, only for their consent to such a peace as Holland itself was content with. When the States had absolutely resolved on the peace, by the particular faction of Amsterdam, and general terror upon the French taking of Ghent and threatening Antwerp, they esteemed the humour in Holland so violent towards the peace, and so unsatisfied with the fluctuation of our counsels in England, that they thought they might be bold with them upon the interests of Spain, and so raised the pretence of not evacuating the towns before the satisfaction of Sweden. And though I know this was by the politicians esteemed a wrong pace of France; yet I did not think it so, but that all appearances were for their succeeding in it. Nor had they reason to believe either our court or Holland would have resented it to that degree they did; or that they could have fallen into such close and sudden measures, and with such confidence, as they happened to do upon this occasion by the treaty of July at the Hague. When this was concluded, they made all the offers that could be at breaking the force of it; by drawing it into negotiation, and by condescensions to the States unusual with that crown even to the greatest kings. They poisoned it by the dispatch of De Cross, and by his instructions, as well as artifices and industry, to make the contents of it public at the Hague; which were pretended at court to be sent over to me with the greatest secrecy that could be. At the same time they made all the declarations of not receding from the difficulties they had raised, otherwise than by treaty; and thereby laid asleep all jealousies of the confederates, as well as en-

deavours to prevent a blow they did not believe could arrive, where the honour of France ſeemed ſo far engaged: and thus they continued till the very day limited for their final declaration. The ſecret was ſo well kept, that none had the leaſt umbrage of it that very morning. When they declared it, they left not the Dutch ambaſſadors time enough to ſend to their maſters; fearing, if they had, the States would have refuſed to ſign without Spain, which could not be ready before the time muſt have elapſed for incurring the effects of the late treaty.

Thus the peace was gained with Holland. His majeſty was excluded from any fair pretence of entering into the war, after the vaſt expence of raiſing a great army, and tranſporting them into Flanders, and after a great expectation of his people raiſed, and, as they thought, deluded. Spain was neceſſitated to accept the terms that the Dutch had negotiated for them; and this left the peace of the empire wholly at the mercy and diſcretion of France, and the reſtitution of Lorrain (which all had conſented in) wholly abandoned and unprovided. So that I muſt again conclude the conduct of France to have been admirable in the whole courſe of this affair, and the Italian proverb to continue true, *che gli pazzi Franceſi ſono morti* [the French fools are dead.] On the contrary, our counſels and conduct were like thoſe of a floating iſland, driven one way or t'other, according to the winds or tides. The king's diſpoſition inclined him to preſerve his meaſures with France, and conſequently to promote a peace which might break the preſent confederacy: the humour of his people and parliament was violent towards engaging him in a war: the miniſters were wavering between the fears of making their court ill, or of drawing upon them the heats of a houſe of commons, whom the king's expences made him always in need of. From theſe humours aroſe thoſe uncertain-

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ties in our counſels, that no man, who was not behind the curtain, could tell what to make of, and which appeared to others much more myſterious than indeed they were; till a new and formidable engine, beginning to appear upon the ſtage, made the court fall into an abſolute reſolution of entering into the war juſt when it was too late; and to poſt away the ratifications of the treaty of July, ſo as to arrive the day after the French and Dutch had ſigned the peace, and after the king had given the States occaſion to believe he did not intend to ratify it, but that he had taken his meaſures with France; for ſo all men in Holland concluded from De Croſs's journey, and the commands he brought me for mine to Nimeguen, at a time when my preſence at the Hague was thought the moſt neceſſary, both to ratify the treaty, if it had been intended, and to keep the States firm to their reſolutions upon it.

Thus ended in ſmoke this whole negotiation, which was near raiſing ſo great a fire. France, having made the peace with Holland, treated all the reſt of it with eaſe and leiſure, as playing a ſure game. England, to avoid a cruel convulſion that threatened them at home, would fain have gone into the war, if Holland would have been prevailed with; but they could not truſt us enough to loſe the preſent intereſt of trade, for the uncertain events of a war wherein they thought their neighbours more concerned than themſelves.

About two or three days after my return to the Hague, and exchanging the ratifications, came the news of the battle of Mons, between the prince of Orange and the French under the command of the Duke of Luxemburg, who had poſted himſelf with the ſtrength and flower of the French forces ſo as to prevent the prince's deſign of relieving Mons. And I remember, the day the Dutch peace was ſigned at Nimeguen, I was ſaying to the Marſhal D'Eſtrades, That, for aught

I knew, we might have a peace ſigned, and a battle fought, both in one day. He replied, There was no fear of it; for the Duke of Luxemburg had writ him word, he was ſo poſted, that if he had but ten thouſand men, and the prince forty, yet he was ſure he would not be forced; whereas he took his army to be ſtronger than that of the prince. I need not relate an action ſo well known in the world; and ſo ſhall only ſay, that in ſpite of many diſadvantages from an army drawn ſo ſuddenly together, ſo haſty a march as that of the Dutch, and poſts taken with ſo much ſkill, and fortified with ſo much induſtry by the French, as was believed, the prince upon the fourteenth of Auguſt attacked them with a reſolution and vigour that at firſt ſurpriſed them, and, after an obſtinate and bloody fight, ſo diſordered them, that though the night prevented the end of the action, yet it was generally concluded, that, if he had been at liberty next day to purſue it with ſeven or eight thouſand Engliſh that were ready to join his army, he muſt in all appearance not only have relieved Mons, but made ſuch an impreſſion into France as had been often deſigned, but never attempted ſince the war began; and upon which a French officer preſent in it ſaid, That he eſteemed this the only heroic action that had been done in the whole courſe or progreſs of it.

But, the morning after the battle, the prince received from the States advice of the peace having been ſigned at Nimeguen; and thereupon immediately ſent a deputy with the news of it to monſieur De Luxemburg. After compliments paſſed on both ſides, the Duke deſired to ſee the prince; which was agreed to, and they met in the field, at the head of their chief officers, where all paſſed with the civilities that became the occaſion, and with great curioſity of the French, to ſee and crowd about a young prince, who had made ſo much noiſe in the world, and had, the day before,

given

given life and vigour to such a desperate action, as all men esteemed this battle of St. Dennis. Yet many reflections were made upon it by the prince's friends, as well as his enemies: some said that he knew the peace was signed before the fight began, and that it was too great a venture both to himself and the States, and too great a sacrifice to his own honour, since it could be to no other advantage: others laid it to the marquis De Grana, who, they said, had intercepted and concealed the States packet to the prince, which came into the camp the day before the battle (but after it was resolved on) and that he had hopes by such a breach of the peace, even after it was signed, that the progress of it would have been defeated. Whether this were true, or no, I could never certainly be informed; but so much is, that the prince could not have ended the war with greater glory; nor with greater spite, to see such a mighty occasion wrested out of his hands by the sudden and unexpected signing of the peace, which he had assured himself the States would not have consented to without the Spaniards. Yet, upon the certain news of it, he drew back his army, returned to the Hague, and left the States to pursue their own paces in order to finishing the treaty between France and Spain, wherein the Dutch ambassadors at Nimeguen employed themselves with great zeal and diligence, and no longer as parties or confederates, but as mediators; whilst Sir Lionel, who continued still there in that figure, declined the function, as in a matter wherein he found our court would not take any part, nor allow themselves to have had any in the peace between France and Holland.

Soon after the prince's return, he went to Dieren to hunt in the Veluwe, like a person that had little else to do: and, I having occasion to go at the same time to Amsterdam, he desired me to remember him kindly to monsieur Hoeft, the chief burgomaster there, and

tell

tell him, that he desired him to be no longer in his interests than he should find his highness in the true interests of the State. I did so; and monsieur Hoeft very frankly and generously bid me tell the prince, he would be just what his highness desired, and be ever firm to his interests while he was in those of his country; but, if ever his highness departed from them, he would be the first man to oppose him; till then, he would neither censure nor distrust his conduct; for he knew very well, without mutual trust between the prince and the States, his country must be ruined. From this time to that of his death, monsieur Hoeft continued in the same mind, and by his example that great and jealous town began to fall into much more confidence, not only of the prince, but of his whole conduct in the administration of the affairs of this State.

For the time I staid at Amsterdam, I was every day in conversation with monsieur Hoeft, who, besides much learning, worth, sincereness, and credit in his town, was a man of a pleasant natural humour; which makes, in my opinion, the most agreeable conversation of all other ingredients, and much more than any of those squeezed or forced strains of wit that are in some places so much in request; though, I think, commonly the men, that affect them, are themselves much fonder of them than any of the company.

Dining one day at monsieur Hoeft's, and having a great cold, I observed, every time I spit, a tight handsome wench (that stood in the room with a clean cloth in her hand) was presently down to wipe it up, and rub the board clean: somebody at table speaking of my cold, I said, the most trouble it gave me was to see the poor wench take so much pains about it: monsieur Hoeft told me, 'Twas well I escaped so; and, that if his wife had been at home, though I were an ambassador, she would have turned me out of doors for

for fouling her houſe: and, laughing at that humour, ſaid, there were two rooms of his houſe that he never durſt come into, and believed they were never open but twice a-year, to make them clean. I ſaid, I found he was a good patriot; and not only in the intereſts of his country, but in the cuſtoms of his town, where that of the wife's governing was, I heard, a thing eſtabliſhed. He replied, 'Twas true, and that all a man could hope for there, was to have *une douce patronne* [an eaſy governeſs] and that his wife was ſo. Another of the magiſtrates at table, who was a graver man, ſaid, monſieur Hoeft was pleaſant, but the thing was no more ſo in their town, than in any other place that he knew of. Hoeft replied very briſkly, it was ſo, and could not be otherwiſe, for it had long been the cuſtom; and whoever offered to break it would have banded againſt him, not only all the women in the town, but all thoſe men too that were governed by their wives, which would make too great a party to be oppoſed. In the afternoon, upon a viſit, and occaſion of what had been ſaid at monſieur Hoeft's, many ſtories were told of the ſtrange and curious cleanlineſs ſo general in that city; and ſome ſo extravagant that my ſiſter took them for jeſt; when the ſecretary of Amſterdam, that was of the company, deſiring her to look out of the window, ſaid, Why, madam, there is the houſe where one of our magiſtrates going to viſit the miſtreſs of it, and knocking at the door, a ſtrapping North-Holland laſs came and opened it; he aſked, Whether her miſtreſs was at home? ſhe ſaid, Yes; and with that he offered to go in: but the wench, marking his ſhoes were not very clean, took him by both arms, threw him upon her back, carried him croſs two rooms, ſet him down at the bottom of the ſtairs, pulled off his ſhoes, put him on a pair of ſlippers that ſtood there, and all this without ſaying a word; but, when ſhe had

had done, told him, he might go up to her miſtreſs, who was in her chamber.

I was very glad to have a little diverted, with ſuch pleaſantries as theſe, the thoughts of that buſy ſcene, in which I was ſo deeply engaged, that I will confeſs the very remembrance of it, and all the ſtrange ſurpriſing turns of it, began to renew thoſe cruel motions they had raiſed both in my head and heart, whilſt I had ſo great and ſo ſenſible a part in them. But to return where I left the thread of theſe affairs.

After the peace of Holland and France, the miniſters of the confederates, eſpecially thoſe of Denmark and Brandenburg, employed their laſt efforts to prevent the Spaniards agreeing to their part of the peace, as accepted for them by the Dutch. They exclaimed at their breach of honour and intereſt: that what was left the Spaniards in Flanders, by thoſe terms, was indefenſible, and could ſerve but to exhauſt their men and treaſures to no purpoſe; that the deſign of France was only to break this preſent confederacy by theſe ſeparate treaties, and ſo leave the Spaniards abandoned by their allies upon the next invaſion; which they would have reaſon to expect, if Spain ſhould uſe them with as little regard of their honour and treaties, as the Dutch ambaſſadors ſeemed to deſign. Theſe themſelves alſo met with ſome difficulties in their mediation, by a pretenſion raiſed in France upon the county of Beaumont and town of Bovignes, which they did not find to have been mentioned in what had paſſed between the French and Dutch, upon the ſcore of Spain, before the peace was ſigned.

All theſe circumſtances began to make it look uncertain what would at length be determined by the States, as to their ratifications, which were like to be delayed till Spain had concluded their treaty, though thoſe of France had been diſpatched ſo as to arrive at Nimeguen the twenty-ſecond of this month; and monſieur

monſieur D'Avaux commanded from thence to the Hague, in quality of ambaſſador extraordinary to the States; and the French army had retired into France at the ſame time the Dutch returned from before Mons. So that all ſeemed, on the French ſide, reſolved to purſue the peace; on the ſide of the Empire and Princes of the North, to carry on the war; on the Spaniards, very irreſolute whether to accept the peace the Dutch had mediated for them, or no: and in Holland, 'twas doubtful whether to ratify that their ambaſſadors had ſigned, and whether at leaſt before the treaty of Spain ſhould be agreed.

Whilſt the minds of men were buſied with different reaſonings and preſages, as well as wiſhes, upon this conjuncture; about the end of Auguſt Mr. Hide arrived at the Hague from England, without the leaſt intimation given me of his journey, or his errand; ſo that I was ſurpriſed, both to ſee him, and to hear the deſign of ſuch a ſudden diſpatch.

The ſubſtance of it was, to acquaint the States how much the king had been ſurpriſed at the news of their ambaſſadors having ſigned a particular treaty with France, even without the incluſion of Spain, and without any guaranty given for the evacuation of the towns within the time requiſite: to complain of this precipitation of the States; and at the ſame time of the new pretenſions that France had advanced upon the county of Beaumont and the town of Bovignes, which had retarded the peace of Spain, and hindered it from being concluded at the ſame time with that of Holland; which his majeſty underſtood always to have been the intention of the States, as well as his own. That for theſe reaſons he underſtood, and believed, that the late treaty of July, between his majeſty and the States, ought to take effect; the caſe being fallen out againſt which that was provided, and both parties being thereby obliged to enter jointly into the war againſt France: that,

that, if the States would hereupon refuſe to ratify the treaty their miniſters had ſigned at Nimeguen, his majeſty offered to declare war immediately againſt France, and carry it on in all points according to the articles and obligations of the ſaid treaty with the States.

Though Mr. Hide did not know, or did not tell me, the true ſpring of this reſolute pace that was made by our court, ſo different from all the reſt in the whole courſe of this affair, yet he aſſured me they were both in earneſt, and very warm upon the ſcent, and deſired nothing ſo much as to enter immediately and vigorouſly into the war, in caſe Holland would be perſuaded to continue it; and that no time nor endeavours were to be neglected in purſuing the commiſſion he brought over, which was given jointly to us both, and recommended to me particularly from court, with all the inſtances and earneſtneſs that could be. When I carried him that very evening to the prince at Honſlaerdyck, and he acquainted his highneſs with the whole extent of his errand and inſtructions; the prince received it very coldly, and only adviſed him to give in a memorial to the States, and aſk commiſſioners to treat, by whom he would find what the minds of the States were like to be upon this affair, and at which he would at preſent make no conjecture.

After a ſhort audience, Mr. Hide went to the princeſs, and left me alone with the prince; who, as ſoon as he was gone, lift up his hands two or three times, and ſaid, 'Was ever any thing ſo hot, and ſo cold, as this 'court of yours? Will the king, that is ſo often at 'ſea, never learn a word that I ſhall never forget ſince 'my laſt paſſage, when, in a great ſtorm, the captain 'was all night crying out to the man at the helm, 'Steady, ſteady, ſteady? If this diſpatch had come 'twenty days ago, it had changed the face of affairs 'in Chriſtendom; and the war might have been 'carried on, till France had yielded to the treaty of

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'the Pyrenees, and left the world in quiet for the reſt 'of our lives: as it comes now, it will have no effect 'at all. At leaſt, this is my opinion, though I would 'not ſay ſo to Mr. Hide.'

After this, he aſked me, what I could imagine was at the bottom of this new heat in our court; and what could make it break out ſo *mal à propos* [unſeaſonably] after the diſſatisfaction they had expreſſed upon the late treaty when it was firſt ſent over, and the diſpatch of De Croſs, ſo contrary to the deſign of it. I told him very truly, that I was perfectly ignorant of the whole matter, and could give no gueſs at the motions of it: and ſo I continued till ſome months after, when I was adviſed, that the buſineſs of the plot, which has ſince made ſo great noiſe in the world, was juſt then breaking out; and that the court, to avoid the conſequences that might have upon the ill humour of the parliament, which ſeemed to riſe chiefly from the peace, his majeſty reſolved to give them the ſatisfaction they had ſo long deſired, of entering into the war: which is all the account I can give of this counſel or reſolution.

The event proved anſwerable to the judgment the prince at firſt made of it; for though the States-deputies drew the matter into ſeveral debates and conferences with us, which filled all parties concerned in the war with different apprehenſions, and ſerved to facilitate the treaty between France and Spain; yet the penſioner told me from the firſt, this was all the uſe that could be made of it, and that the States were ſo unſatisfied with our whole conduct in the buſineſs of the peace, that though they would be glad to ſee us in the war, yet they were reſolved to have no farther part in it, unleſs France ſhould refuſe what they had already promiſed to Spain. However, while this affair continued in agitation, during Mr. Hide's ſtay at the Hague, all appearances looked very different from the opinion of the

the prince and penſioner, who alone had ſo full a graſp of the buſineſs in Holland, as to make a true judgment what the general ſentiments there would determine in. Many of the deputies were ſo ill ſatisfied with their ambaſſadors having ſigned the peace, that they inclined to his majeſty's propoſals, and framed ſeveral articles againſt monſieur Van Beverning's proceedings, whereof ſome laid miſtakes to his charge; others, the omiſſion of matters abſolutely neceſſary in the treaty; and others more directly, his having gone beyond the orders and inſtructions, particularly in having ſtipulated that the States ſhould give their guaranty for the neutrality of Spain. And in this point, I doubt, he had nothing to ſhew from his maſters to cover him. The reſt ſeemed rather to be raiſed invidiouſly at his conduct, in having ſuddenly concluded an affair, which they now ſaw might have had another iſſue if he had given it more breath; though, at that time, many of his accuſers expected as little from England as he did, and with reaſon alike, ſince none of them could imagine any thing of that new ſpring there, from which this violent motion had begun. Whatever monſieur Van Beverning's orders or his proceedings had been, the heats were ſo high againſt him at the Hague, that many talked, not only of diſavowing what he had done, but of forming a proceſs againſt him upon it: and, though in a ſhort ſtay he made there upon this occaſion, he had the fortune or the juſtice to ſee his enemies grow calm towards him; yet he was not a little mortified with ſo ill payment of what he thought had been ſo good ſervice to his country; and, after his return to Nimeguen, was obſerved to proceed in the negotiations there with more phlegm, and caution than was natural to his temper; and leſs ſhew of partiality to the peace than he had made in the whole courſe of the treaty.

All this while theſe matters were in motion at the Hague, the king's forces were every day tranſporting into

into Flanders, as if the war were to be carried on with the greateſt certainty and vigour. Which gave opinion and heart to thoſe in Holland that diſliked the peace. It raiſed alſo ſo great confidence in the Spaniards, that they fell into all the meaſures they could with the confederate miniſters at Nimeguen, to form difficulties and delays in the treaty there, between that Crown and France; upon the ſecurity that Holland would not ratify theirs, till that of Spain were concluded; and that in the mean time they might be drawn into the war by the violent diſpoſitions which now appeared in England, as well as in the confederates, to continue it. The Spaniſh ambaſſadors laid hold of all occaſions to except againſt the matter or ſtyle of thoſe articles which Holland had mediated between them and France; they found difficulties upon the condition wherein the ſeveral towns to be evacuated ſhould be reſtored to them, as to the fortifications that had been made in them by the French, and as to the artillery and munitions that were in them at the time when the Dutch had agreed upon thoſe conditions; they found matter of diſpute upon the territories that belonged to the ſeveral towns, and eſpecially upon the Châtelenie of Aeth, which France had diſmembered ſince it was in their poſſeſſion, and had joined above threeſcore villages to the Châtelenie of Tournay, which had belonged to Aeth, and were with that town transferred by the Spaniards to the French, upon the peace of Aix la Chapelle: but the French pretending now to reſtore it, only in the condition they had left it, and not what they had found it, the Spaniards made a mighty clamour both at London and the Hague upon this ſubject, and complained of this, among other ſmaller matters, as innovations endeavoured to be introduced by France, even beyond what they had themſelves propoſed to the Dutch, and agreed in April laſt, which had been laid and purſued as the very foundation of the peace.

In this uncertain ſtate all matters continued at the Hague for about three weeks, the opinions of moſt men running generally againſt the peace; as well as the wagers at Amſterdam, by which people often imagine the pulſe of the State is to be felt and judged, though indeed it be a ſort of trade driven by men that have little dealing or ſucceſs in any other, and is managed with more tricks than the reſt ſeems to be in that ſcene; not only coining falſe news upon the place, but practiſing intelligence from remote parts to their purpoſe, concerting the ſame advices from different countries, and making great ſecret and myſtery of reports that are raiſed on purpoſe to be publick; and yet by ſuch devices as theſe, not only the wagers at Amſterdam are commonly turning, but the riſing and falling of the very actions of the Eaſt-India company are often and in a great meaſure influenced.

But France thought the conjuncture too important to let it hover long in ſuch uncertainties; and therefore firſt diſpatched a courier to their ambaſſadors at Nimeguen, with leave to ſatisfy the States in thoſe clauſes of their treaty wherein they ſeemed to except juſtly againſt monſieur Van Beverning's conduct, and thereby cover the credit of that miniſter who had been ſo affectionate an inſtrument in the progreſs of the treaty. Next, they gave them liberty to ſoften a little of the rigour they had hitherto exerciſed in the ſmalleſt points conteſted with the Spaniards; and laſt of all, they diſpatched an expreſs to their ambaſſadors, with power to remit all the differences which obſtructed or retarded the concluſion of the treaty between that crown and Spain, to the determination and arbitrage of the States themſelves.

This was a pace of ſo much confidence towards the States, and appeared ſuch a teſtimony of the moſt chriſtian king's ſincerity in the late advances he had made towards a peace, that it had all the effect deſigned by it.

it. The several towns and provinces proceeded with a general concurrence to the ratifications of the peace, that they might lie ready in their ambassadors hands to be exchanged when that of Spain should be signed. Monsieur Van Beverning, now favoured with a fair gale from home, the humour of his country blowing the same way with his own dispositions, and seconded with the great facilities that were given by France, made such a quick dispatch of what remained in contest upon the treaty between France and Spain, that all was perfected and signed by the twentieth of September, and thereupon the Dutch ratifications were exchanged with the usual forms. In all this Sir Lionel Jenkins had no part, as in an affair disapproved by the king his master. The Dutch ambassadors played the part of formal mediators; had the treaty between the two crowns signed at their house; and took great care, by the choice and disposition of the room where it was performed, to avoid all punctilio's about place, that might arise between the several ambassadors. Mr. Hide had the mortification to return into England, with the entire disappointment of the design upon which he came, and believed the court so passionately bent; I was left at the Hague without any thing more to do, than to perform the part of a common ambassador; France was left in possession of the peace with Holland and Spain, and, by consequence, master of that of the empire and the north, upon their own terms; and England was left to busy itself about a fire that was breaking out at home, with so much smoke, and so much noise, that, as it was hard to discover the beginning, so it was much harder to foresee the end of it.

After the peace of Spain signed, and of Holland ratified, though the ambassadors of the emperor at Nimeguen were sullen, and those of Denmark and Brandenburg enraged, yet, by the application of the Dutch ambassadors, the conferences were set on foot between

them and the French; and Sir Lionel received orders from court to return to his function, though the remaining part he had in the affair was rather that of a meſſenger than a mediator. The northern princes continued their preparations and marches, as if they reſolved to purſue the war; but at the ſame time gave ſe louſes to the Emperor of ſome private intelligences or negotiations of ſeparate treaties ſet on foot between France and Denmark, and others between that crown and Brandenburg, by monſieur Deſpenſe, an old ſervant of the elector, but ſubject of France. On the other ſide, France made great preparations to attack the Empire, upon pretence of forcing them into the terms they had preſcribed for the peace; and thereby gave ſo great terror to the princes of the Rhine, that lay firſt expoſed to the fury of their arms, that the electors of Mentz and Triers, and Duke of Newburg, ſent away in great haſte to the States, demanding and deſiring to be included by them in the peace they had made, by virtue of an article therein, which gave them liberty within ſix weeks to declare and include ſuch as they ſhould name for their allies. But this was oppoſed by France, and refuſed to any particular prince of the Empire, and allowed only to the Emperor and Empire, if they ſhould jointly deſire to be declared and included in the peace as an ally of Holland. The duke of Lorrain, about the ſame time, ſeeing the whole confederacy breaking into ſo many ſeveral pieces, and every one minding only how to ſhift the beſt they could for themſelves, accepted his part of the peace as France had carved it out for him; and choſe the alternative offered from that crown by which Nancy was to remain to France. But the Emperor, though he profeſſed all the inclination that could be to ſee the general peace reſtored, yet he pretended not to ſuffer the terms of it ſhould, like laws, be impoſed upon him. He conſented to the re-eſtabliſh-

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ment of the treaties of Weſtphalia, which ſeemed to be all that France inſiſted on; but could not agree to the paſſage demanded for their troops, whenever they found it neceſſary for the execution of the ſaid treaties; and this was inſiſted on poſitively by the French. Nor could the Imperialiſts yield to the dependence pretended by France of the ten towns of Alſace upon that crown; which the French demanded as ſo left, or at leaſt intended, by the treaty of Munſter, while the Emperor's ambaſſadors denied either the fact or the intention of that treaty.

While theſe diſpoſitions, and theſe difficulties, delayed the treaty of the Emperor, the ratifications of Spain were likewiſe deferred, by concert, as was ſuppoſed, between the two houſes of Auſtria; ſo as the term agreed for the exchange of them was quite elapſed, and twice renewed or prolonged by France, at the deſire of the States. But, during this time, the French troops made incurſions into the richeſt parts of Flanders, and which had been beſt covered in the time of the war; and there exacted ſo great contributions, and made ſuch ravages where they were diſputed, that the Spaniſh Netherlands were more ruined between the ſigning of the peace, and the exchange of the ratifications, than they had been in ſo much time, during the whole courſe of the war.

The outcries and calamities of their ſubjects in Flanders, at length moved the Spaniards out of their ſlow pace; but more, the embroilments of England upon the ſubject of the plot which took up the minds both of court and parliament, and left them little or no regard for the courſe of foreign affairs. This proſpect made Holland the more eager upon urging the peace to a general iſſue; and France, making a wiſe uſe of ſo favourable a conjuncture, preſſed the Empire, not only by the threats and preparations of a ſudden invaſion, but alſo by confining their offers of the peace to certain

days, and raiſing much higher demands, if thoſe ſhould expire before the Emperor's acceptance.

All theſe circumſtances, improved by the diligence and abilities of the Dutch ambaſſadors at Nimeguen, at length determined the houſe of Auſtria to run the ſhip aſhore, whatever came on it, rather than keep out at ſea in ſo cruel a ſtorm as they ſaw falling upon them, and for which they found themſelves ſo unprovided. The Spaniſh ratifications at length arrived: and after the winter far ſpent in fruitleſs conteſt by the Imperial ambaſſadors, and more fruitleſs hopes from England by the Spaniards and other confederates, Sir Lionel Jenkins gave notice, both to the court and to me, that he looked upon the treaty between the Emperor and France to be as good as concluded; and ſoon after I received his majeſty's commands to go immediately away from the Hague to Nimeguen, and there aſſiſt as a mediator at the ſigning of the peace, which then appeared to be general.

I never obeyed the king ſo unwillingly in my life, both upon account of an errand ſo unneceſſary, and, at beſt, ſo merely formal (which I never had been uſed to in ſo long a courſe of employments); and likewiſe upon the inclemency of the ſeaſon, which was never known ſo great in any man's memory as when I ſet out from the Hague. The ſnow was in many places where I paſſed near ten foot deep, and ways for my coach forced to be digged through it; ſeveral poſt-boys died upon the road; and it was ridiculous to ſee people walk about with long icicles from their noſes. I paſſed both the Rhine and the Waal, with both coaches and waggons upon the ice; and never in my life ſuffered ſo much from weather as in this journey, in ſpite of all proviſions I could make againſt it. The beſt of it was, that, I knew all the way, it was neither at all material that the mediators ſhould ſign this branch of the general peace, having ſigned none of

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the other; nor that two ſhould ſign it, when one alone had aſſiſted in the courſe of this negotiation ſince it was renewed between the Empire and France. Beſides, I was very confident it would not at laſt be ſigned by either of us; for I could not believe when it came to the point, the Emperor's ambaſſadors ſhould yield that of precedence to the mediators, at the concluſion of the treaty, which they never conſented to do in the whole courſe of it: ſo that I looked upon the favour of this journey, as afforded me from the particular good-will of ſome of my good friends in the foreign committee; taking a riſe from ſome inſtances of Sir Lionel Jenkins, who was in one of his uſual agonies, for fear of being left in the way of ſigning alone a treaty, which he neither was pleaſed with himſelf, nor believed many people in England like to be.

I arrived at Nimeguen the end of January 1678-9, and found all concluded, and ready to ſign, as Sir Lionel believed; yet the Imperialiſts made a vigorous effort in two conferences, after my arrival, to gain ſome eaſe in the points of Lorrain, and the dependence of the ten towns in Alſace, wherein they thought themſelves the moſt hardly uſed of any others, and in the firſt, their maſter's honour and juſtice moſt concerned; ſo as count Kinſki made a mien of abſolutely breaking, without ſome relief upon them. But the French ambaſſadors knew too well the force of the conjuncture, and the neceſſity laid upon the Emperor by the Dutch and Spaniſh peace, to paſs the ſame way, or leap out of the window; and they were too ſkilful not to make uſe of it, or to give any ground to all the inſtances or threats of the Imperialiſts. Theſe, on the other ſide, durſt not venture the expiration of the laſt day given them by France, nor the reſerve made in that caſe of exacting new and harder terms. So as the peace was ſigned about three days after my

arrival. The poor duke of Lorrain thought himſelf preſſed with ſuch hardſhips upon both the alternatives, that he could not reſolve to accept of either; for, in that he had choſen, not only his duchy was diſmembered of ſeveral great parts wholly cut off, but the reſt left at the French diſcretion; who inſiſted upon great ſpaces of ground left them in propriety, quite croſs his country, for the march of their armies, whenever they ſhould pretend occaſion: ſo this noble, but unfortunate prince, was left wholly out of the treaty, and of his country; contrary to the direct and repeated engagements of the confederates, and the intentions of his majeſty, as he often declared in the whole courſe of the treaty.

When it was ready to ſign, the French ambaſſadors offered to yield the precedence in ſigning it to us as mediators, which they had done very frankly in the whole courſe of this aſſembly; but the Imperialiſts, when it came to the point, downright refuſed it; and we, according to our primitive orders, refuſed to ſign without it; and, by our offers, gained only the point of having that determined againſt us, which till this time had always remained in ſuſpenſe.

Whilſt I ſtaid at Nimeguen, I had a ſheet of paper ſent me from an unknown hand, written in Latin, but in a ſtyle and character that diſcovered it to be by ſome German: the ſubject of it was a long comment upon a quatrain recited out of *Noſtredamus*.

*Né ſous les ombres d'une journée nocturne*
*Sera en los et bonté ſouverain,*
*Fera renaiſtre le ſang de l'antique urne*
*Et changera en or le ſiécle d'airain.*

*Under the ſhades of a nocturnal day being born,*
*In glory and goodneſs ſovereign ſhall ſhine,*

*Shall*

*Shall cauſe to ſpring again the blood o'the ancient urn,*
*And, into gold, the brazen age refine.*

The ſcope of the whole diſcourſe was to prove the prince of Orange's being by it deſigned for the crown of England, and how much glory and felicity ſhould attend that age and reign. I could not but mention it, becauſe I thought the interpretation ingeniouſly found out and applied, having otherwiſe very little regard for any ſuch kind of predictions, that are ſo apt to amuſe the world. And though the preſent ſtate of the Royal family leave not this without appearance of arriving at one time or other, yet it is at too great a diſtance for my eyes, which, by the courſe of nature, muſt be cloſed long before ſuch an event is like to ſucceed. The author of this paper made the ſhades of a nocturnal day to ſignify the deep mourning of the princeſs royal's chamber, with the lamps hung about it, which, by the windows being kept ſhut, left no other light in it that morning the prince was born (which was ſoon after his father's death). Reſtoring the blood of the ancient urn, was that of Bourbon, or of Charlemaigne, from whom the prince was ſaid to deſcend. The reſt was only panegyrick upon his virtues, and the general praiſe ſhould attend them, and the golden age he ſhould reſtore.

The day after the treaty was ſigned I left Nimeguen, and returned to the Hague, after a cruel fatigue and expence; which was rendered the more agreeable, when, upon my going into England ſoon after, I found myſelf in above ſeven thouſand pounds in arrear at the treaſury: and though, with much trouble and delay, and ſome worſe circumſtances (to engage men that were more dexterous than I in ſuch purſuits) I recovered the reſt of my debt; yet two and twenty hundred pounds, due to me for this laſt embaſſy, continues to

to this day a desperate debt, and mark upon me how unfit I am for a court; and Mr. Godolphin, after having both said and writ to me, that he would move to have my statute set up if I compassed that treaty, has sat several years since in the treasury, and seen me want the very money I laid out of my own purse in that service, and which I am like to leave a debt upon my estate and family.

I shall not trouble myself with observing the remaining paces of the general peace, by that of the north, which was left to be made at the mercy of France. And though Denmark and Brandenburg looked big, and spoke high for a time after the peace between the Empire and France, pretending they would defend what they had conquered from the Swedes in Germany; yet upon the march of the French troops into the Brandenburg country, both those princes made what haste they could to finish their separate treaties with France; and, upon certain sums of money agreed on, delivered up all they had gained in this war to the crown of Sweden. Thus Christendom was left for the present in a general peace, and France to pursue what they could gain upon their neighbours by their pretensions of dependences, and by the *droit de bienseance* [the right of conveniency]; which they pursued with such imperious methods, both against the Empire and the Spaniards, as rendered their acquisitions after the peace greater, at least in consequence, than what they had gained by the war: since not only great tracts of country, upon the score of dependences, but Strasburg and Luxemburg fell as sacrifices to their ambition without any neighbouring Prince or State concerning themselves in their relief. But these enterprises I leave to some others observations.

Very soon after my arrival at the Hague, the king sent me orders to provide for my return as soon as I could possibly be ready; and bid me acquaint the prince

prince and the States, that he had ſent for me over to come into the place of firſt ſecretary of State in Mr. Coventry's room. My lord treaſurer writ to me to the ſame purpoſe, and with more eſteem than I could pretend to deſerve, telling me, among other things, they were fallen into a cruel diſeaſe, and had need of ſo able a phyſician. This put me in mind of a ſtory of Dr. Prujean (the greateſt of that profeſſion in our time) and which I told my friends that were with me when theſe letters came. A certain lady came to the doctor in great trouble about her daughter. Why, what ails ſhe? Alas, doctor, I cannot tell; but ſhe has loſt her humour, her looks, her ſtomach; her ſtrength conſumes every day, ſo as we fear ſhe cannot live. Why do not you marry her? Alas, doctor, that we would fain do, and have offered her as good a match as ſhe could ever expect, but ſhe will not hear of marrying. Is there no other, do you think, that ſhe would be content to marry? Ah doctor! that is it that troubles us; for there is a young gentleman we doubt ſhe loves, that her father and I can never conſent to. Why look you, madam, replies the doctor gravely (being among all his books in his cloſet) then the caſe is this, your daughter would marry one man, and you would have her marry another: in all my books I find no remedy for ſuch a diſeaſe as this. I confeſs, I eſteemed the caſe as deſperate in a political as in a natural body, and as little to be attempted by a man, who neither ever had his own fortune at heart (which ſuch conjunctures are only proper for) nor ever could reſolve upon any purſuits of it, to go againſt either the true intereſt or the laws of his country; one of which is commonly endangered upon the fatal misfortune of ſuch diviſions in a kingdom: I choſe therefore to make my excuſes both to the king and to my lord treaſurer, and deſired leave to go to Florence, and diſcharge myſelf of a promiſe I had made ſome years paſt

of

of a visit to the great duke, the first time I had leisure from my public employments. Instead of granting this suit, the king sent a yacht for me, towards the latter end of February 1678-9, with orders to come immediately away to enter upon the secretary's office about the same time with my lord Sunderland, who was brought into Sir Joseph Williamson's place. I obeyed his majesty, and acquainted the prince and States with my journey, and the design of it, according to his command; who made me compliments upon both, and would have had me believe, that the secretary of state was to make amends for the loss of the ambassador. But I told the prince, that though I must go, yet, if I found the scene what it appeared to us at that distance, I would not charge myself with that employment upon any terms that could be offered me. We knew very well in Holland, that both houses of parliament believed the plot: that the clergy, the city, the country in general did so too, or at least pursued it as if they all believed it. We knew that the king and some of the court believed nothing of it, and yet thought not fit to own that opinion: and the prince told me, he had reason to be confident that the king was in his heart a Roman-Catholic, though he durst not profess it. For my own part, I knew not what to believe on one side or t'other; but thought it easy to presage, from such contrary winds and tides, such a storm must rise, as would tear the ship in pieces, whatever hand were at the helm.

At my arrival in England, about the latter end of February, I found the king had dissolved a parliament that had sat eighteen years, and given great testimonies of loyalty and compliance with his majesty, till they broke first into heats upon the French alliances, and at last into flames upon the business of the plot: I found a new parliament was called; and that, to make way for a calmer session, the resolution had been taken

taken at court for the duke's going over into Holland, who embarked the day after my arrival at London. The elections of the enſuing parliament were ſo eagerly purſued, that all were in a manner engaged before I came over; and, by the diſpoſitions that appeared in both electors and elected, it was eaſy to preſage in what temper the houſes were like to meet: my lord Shafteſbury, my lord Eſſex, and my lord Hallifax had ſtruck up with the duke of Monmouth, reſolving to make uſe of his credit with the king, and to ſupport it by theirs in the parliament: and though the firſt had been as deep as any in the counſels of the cabal, while he was chancellor, yet all three had now fallen in with the common humour againſt the court and the miniſtry, endeavouring to inflame the diſcontents againſt both; and agreed among themſelves, that none of them would come into court, unleſs they did it all together; which was obſerved like other common ſtrains of court-friendſhips. Sir William Coventry had the moſt credit of any man in the houſe of commons, and, I think, the moſt deſervedly, not only for his great abilities, but for having been turned out of the council and treaſury, to make way for my lord Clifford's greatneſs, and the deſigns of the cabal. He had been ever ſince oppoſite to the French alliances, and bent upon engaging England in a war with that crown, and aſſiſtance of the confederates; and was now extremely diſſatisfied with the concluſion of the peace, and with the miniſtry, that he thought either aſſiſted, or at leaſt might have prevented it; and in theſe diſpoſitions he was like to be followed by the beſt and ſobereſt part of the houſe of commons. For my lord treaſurer and lord chamberlain, I found them two moſt admirable emblems of the true, and ſo much admired felicity of miniſters of ſtate: the laſt, notwithſtanding the greateſt ſkill of court, and the beſt turns of wit in particular converſation that I have known there,

there, and the great figure he made in the firſt part of theſe memoirs, was now grown out of all credit and confidence with the king, the duke, and prince of Orange; and thereby forced to ſupport himſelf by intrigues with the perſons moſt diſcontented againſt my lord treaſurer's miniſtry, whoſe greatneſs he ſo much envied: and who was yet at this time in much worſe condition than himſelf, though not ſo ſenſible of it; for he had been very ill with the late parliament upon account of a tranſaction with France, which though he had not approved, yet he durſt not defend himſelf from the imputation, for fear of expoſing his maſter; he was hated by the French ambaſſador, for endeavouring (as he thought) to engage the king in a war with France; he was in danger of being purſued by his enemies next parliament for having (as they pretended) made the peace, and endeavoured to ſtifle the plot: and yet I found, within a fortnight after I arrived, that he ſat very looſe with the king his maſter, who told me ſeveral reaſons of that change; whereof one was, his having brought the buſineſs of the plot into the parliament againſt his abſolute command: and, to complete the happy and envied ſtate of this chief miniſter, the ducheſs of Portſmouth and earl of Sunderland were joined with the duke of Monmouth and earl of Shafteſbury in the deſign of his ruin. What a game ſo embroiled, and played on all ſides with ſo much heat and paſſion, was like to end in, no man could tell: but I, that never had any thing ſo much at heart as the union of my country, which I thought the only way to its greatneſs and felicity, was very unwilling to have any part in the diviſions of it; the deplorable effects whereof I had been too much acquainted with in the ſtories of Athens and Rome, as well as of England and France: and for this reaſon, though I was very much preſſed to enter upon the ſecretary's office, immediately after

my arrival, yet I delayed it, by repreſenting to his majeſty how neceſſary it was for him to have one of the ſecretaries in the houſe of commons (where it had been uſual to have them both) and that conſequently it was very unfit for me to enter upon that office before I got into the houſe, which was attempted, and failed: but how long this excuſe laſted, and how it was ſucceeded by many new and various accidents, and how I was prevailed with by the king to have the part I had afterwards in a new conſtitution of council; and how, after almoſt two years unſucceſsful endeavours at ſome union, or at leaſt ſome allay of the heats and diſtempers between the king and his parliaments, I took the reſolution of having no more to do with affairs of ſtate; will be the ſubject of a third part of theſe memoirs.

MEMOIRS,

# MEMOIRS,

## THE THIRD PART,

FROM THE

## PEACE concluded 1679,

To the Time of the

AUTHOR's Retirement from public Buſineſs.

*Et ille quidem plenus annis abiit, plenus honoribus, illis etiam quos recuſavit.* PLIN. Epiſt. Lib. ii. epiſt. 1.

# THE

# PREFACE.

*IT was perfectly in compliance to some persons for whose opinion I have great deference, that I so long with-held the publication of the following papers. They seemed to think that the freedom of passages in these Memoirs might give offence to several who were still alive; and whose part in those affairs, which are here related, could not be transmitted to posterity with any advantage to their reputation. But, whether this objection be in itself of much weight, may perhaps be disputed; at least it should have little with me, who am under no restraint in that particular; since I am not of an age to remember those transactions, nor had any acquaintance with those persons whose counsels or proceedings are condemned, and who are all of them now dead.*

*But, as this author is very free in exposing the weakness and corruptions of ill ministers, so he is as ready to commend the abilities and virtue of others, as may be observed from several passages of these Memoirs; particularly of the late earl of Sunderland, with whom the author continued in the most intimate friendship to his death; and who was father of that most learned and excellent lord, now secretary of state; as likewise, of the present earl of Rochester; and the earl of Godolphin, now lord treasurer, represented by this impartial author as a person at*

*that time deservedly intrusted with so great a part in the prime ministry; an office he now executes again with such universal applause, so much to the queen's honour and his own, and to the advantage of his country, as well as of the whole confederacy.*

*These are two objections I have sometimes heard to have been offered against those Memoirs that were printed in the author's life-time, and which these now published may, perhaps be equally liable to. First, as to the matter; that the author speaks too much of himself: next, as to the style; that he affects the use of French words, as well as some turns of expression peculiar to that language.*

*I believe, those, who make the former criticism, do not well consider the nature of Memoirs. 'Tis to the French (if I mistake not) we chiefly owe that manner of writing; and Sir William Temple is not only the first, but I think the only, Englishman (at least of any consequence) who ever attempted it. The best French memoirs are writ by such persons as were the principal actors in those transactions they pretend to relate, whether of wars or negotiations. Those of Sir William Temple are of the same nature; and therefore, in my judgment, the publisher (who sent them into the world without the author's privity) gave them a wrong title, when he called them Memoirs of what passed in Christendom, &c. whereas it should rather have been, Memoirs of the treaty at Nimeguen, which was plainly the sense of the author, who in the epistle tells his son, that, in compliance with his desire, he will leave him some memoirs of what passed in his public employ-*

*ments*

*ments abroad: and in the book itself, when he deduces an account of the state of war in Christendom, he says it is only to prepare the reader for a relation of that famous treaty; where he and Sir Lionel Jenkins were the only mediators that continued any considerable time; and as the author was first in commission, so in point of abilities or credit, either abroad or at home, there was no sort of comparison between the two persons. Those memoirs therefore are properly a relation of a general treaty of peace, wherein the author had the principal, as well as the most honourable part in quality of mediator; so that the frequent mention of himself seems not only excusable but necessary. The same may be offered in defence of the following papers, because, during the greatest part of the period they treat of, the author was in chief confidence with the king, his master. To which it may be added, that, in the few preliminary lines at the head of the first page, the author professes he writ those papers for the satisfaction of his friends hereafter, upon the grounds of his retirement, and his resolution never to meddle again with public affairs.*

*As to the objection against the style of the former memoirs, that it abounds in French words and turns of expression; it is to be considered, that, at the treaty of Nimeguen, all business, either by writing or discourse, passed in the French tongue; and the author having lived so many years abroad in that and former embassies, where all business, as well as conversation, ran in that language, it was hardly possible for him to write upon public affairs without some*

*tincture of it in his ſtyle; though in his other writings, there be little or nothing of it to be obſerved; and, as he has often aſſured me, it was a thing he never affected; ſo, upon the objections made to his former memoirs, he blotted out ſome French words in theſe, and placed Engliſh in their ſtead, though perhaps not ſo ſignificant.*

*There is one thing proper to inform the reader, why theſe memoirs are called the third part, there having never been publiſhed but one part before, where, in the beginning, the author mentions a former part, and in the concluſion promiſes a third. The ſubject of the firſt part was chiefly the triple alliance, during the negotiation of which my lord Arlington was ſecretary of ſtate, and chief miniſter: Sir William Temple often aſſured me, he had burnt thoſe memoirs; and for that reaſon was content his letters, during his embaſſies at the Hague and Aix la Chapelle, ſhould be printed after his death; in ſome manner to ſupply that loſs.*

*What it was that moved Sir William Temple to burn thoſe firſt memoirs, may perhaps be conjectured from ſome paſſages in the ſecond part formerly printed: in one place the author has theſe words, "My "lord Arlington, who made ſo great a figure in the "former part of theſe Memoirs, was now grown out "of all credit," &c. In other parts he tells us that lord was of the miniſtry which broke the triple league; adviſed the Dutch war and French alliance; and, in ſhort, was at the bottom of all thoſe ruinous meaſures which the court of England was then taking; ſo that, as I have been told from a good hand, and as*

*as it ſeems very probable, he could not think that lord a perſon fit to be celebrated for his part in forwarding that famous league while he was ſecretary of ſtate, who had made ſuch counterpaces to deſtroy it. At the end I have ſubjoined an Appendix containing, beſides one or two other particulars, a ſpeech of Sir William Temple's in the houſe of commons, and an anſwer of the king's to an addreſs of that houſe, relating to the bill of excluſion, both which are mentioned in theſe memoirs.*

*I have only farther to inform the reader, that although theſe papers were corrected by the author, yet he had once intended to inſert ſome additions in ſeveral places, as appeared by certain hints or memorandoms in the margin; but whether they were omitted, out of forgetfulneſs, neglect, or want of health, I cannot determine: one paſſage relating to Sir William Jones he was pleaſed to tell me, and I have added it in the appendix. The reſt I know nothing of; but the thread of the ſtory is entire without them.*

JONATHAN SWIFT.

# MEMOIRS,

## THE THIRD PART,

[Written for the satisfaction of my friends hereafter, upon the grounds of my retirement, and resolution never to meddle again with any public affairs from this present *February*, 1680-1.]

UPON my return from Nimeguen to the Hague, after the Emperor's ambassadors having signed the peace, the king signified his pleasure to me, by a letter from my lord * treasurer, that he would have me come over to enter into the secretary's office in Mr. Coventry's room, according to the resolution he had taken the year before, when he sent for me over into England from Nimeguen to that purpose.

I sent my humble acknowledgments to the king, in my answer to the lord treasurer's letter; but withal my humble excuses for not putting his majesty upon the use of an old beaten horse, in such hard service as I took that station then to be; and proposed my collegue, Sir Lionel Jenkins, for that purpose. And having long promised the great duke, that I would make him a visit at Florence, if I lived; I turned my thoughts wholly to get leave for that journey, as soon as the congress at Nimeguen should wholly break up, as it was like to do some time that spring, 1678-9.

This gave some respite at court to the resolutions of my return, and an overture for Sir Lionel Jenkins's coming over in my room; so that I prepared for a short return to Nimeguen; when most unexpectedly came a

* *Earl of Danby, afterwards duke of Leeds.*

yacht

yacht to Rotterdam, with letters from my lord treasurer, and from the earl of Sunderland, who had newly succeeded Sir Joseph Williamson. And, in both those dispatches, there was a positive command from the king, for my immediate repair into England, in order to my entering upon the secretary's office.

The king writ the same thing at the same time to the prince, and gave him leave to acquaint the States with it, which he did, as a thing he thought they would be pleased with (as he was himself, and indeed all my friends:) though while I was forced to stay at the Hague, about a fortnight before my embarking, they all found me in very different thoughts, both upon my discourses and my letters: insomuch that the prince told me, he looked upon it as a piece of predestination, that I should be secretary of state at last, in spite of all I had done so long to avoid it.

Upon my arrival in England, I met with the most surprising scene that ever was: the long parliament dissolved, and the resolution taken for the duke's going into Holland, and that he was to part next day: so that I had only one occasion of speaking to him; when he told me with great freedom the paces that had been made towards that resolution, much against his own opinion, and bid me remember what he foretold me, that however this was thought likely to stop the violent humour then raised by the plot, yet I should see it would go on next to my lord treasurer's ruin, though he did not expect it.

When the duke was gone, and the king had told me, with the greatest kindness that could be, of his resolution to have me secretary; and that I had no reason to take it well, because he knew not one man besides in England that was fit for it upon Mr. Coventry's removal: and on the other side, my friends had told me, they had the money ready for me to lay down, which was five thousand pounds; I began to consider the

the ground, and the journey, and my own ſtrength to go through with it. I found nothing ſo neceſſary for his majeſty's affairs abroad, and thoſe of Chriſtendom, as great union at home; which might enable him to make ſuch a figure as the preſervation of his allies required; and indeed the general intereſt of Chriſtendom; which ſeemed to depend wholly upon his majeſty's meaſures. On the other ſide, I never ſaw greater diſturbance in men's minds at home, than had been raiſed by the plot, and the purſuit of it in the parliament; and obſerved, that though it was generally believed by both houſes, by city and country, by clergy and laity; yet when I talked with ſome of my friends in private, who ought beſt to know the bottom of it, they only concluded that it was yet myſterious; that they could not ſay the king believed it; but, however, that the parliament and nation were ſo generally and ſtrongly poſſeſſed with it, that it muſt of neceſſity be purſued as if it were true, whether it was ſo or no: and that, without the king's uniting with his people upon this point, he would never grow either into eaſe at home, or conſideration abroad.

Upon three days thought of this whole affair, I concluded it a ſcene unfit for ſuch actors as I knew myſelf to be; and reſolved to avoid the ſecretary's place, or any other public employment at home, my character abroad ſtill continuing. This I acquainted my neareſt friends with; ordered the money to be returned, which had been provided by them; and fell into the conſultations how I might get off this point, without any thing that might appear undutiful or ungrateful to his majeſty.

The elections were canvaſſing for a new parliament, and I ordered my pretenſions ſo as they came to fail. In the mean time I deferred my entering into the ſecretary's place, till I might likewiſe enter into the houſe of commons, which both his majeſty and lord treaſurer

treaſurer were ſatisfied with, though not lord Sunderland. But when that parliament was choſen, and I not of the houſe, I repreſented to his majeſty how unfit it was to have a parliament meet without his having one ſecretary of the houſe of commons, and how uſeful Mr. Coventry would be to him there; and ſo obtained a reſpite till I could be choſen of the houſe; which was endeavoured upon each doubtful election, eſpecially that at Windſor, but however could not be carried.

The ſhort parliament met, with the diſputes between the court and the commons about the ſpeaker, begun indeed upon a pique between the treaſurer and Mr. Seymour [afterwards Sir Edward Seymour] or rather between my lady Danby and him. However it was, this ſoon ran the houſe into ſuch violences againſt my lord treaſurer, as ended in his ruin; firſt by the king's ſudden reſolution to remove him, then by the commons continuing their purſuits and impeachments; and laſt, by his lordſhip's firſt concealing, and then producing himſelf in the face of this ſtorm, which ended in the Tower.

After theſe heats of the commons, which increaſed into new meaſures and motions among them, as they were ſwayed by popular humours upon the plot, and many new plots laid by the ambitions of private perſons, carried on under covert of the other; I never ſaw any man more ſenſible of the miſerable condition of his affairs, than I found his majeſty upon many diſcourſes with him, which my foreign employments and correſpondences made way for. But nothing he ſaid to me moved me more, than when, upon the ſaid proſpect of them all, he told me, he had none left, with whom he could ſo much as ſpeak of them in confidence, ſince my lord treaſurer's being gone. And this gave, I ſuppoſe, his majeſty the occaſion of entering into more confidence with me, than I could deſerve or expect.

On

On the other ſide I found, that the counſel of my lord treaſurer's removal had been carried on by the duke of Monmouth, in conjunction with the ducheſs of Portſmouth, and lord Eſſex, who was then in the greateſt confidence with the duke of Monmouth, and by him and lord Sunderland newly brought into the treaſury. I found my lord Sunderland at leaſt in compliance with this knot, and that all were reſolved to bring my lord Shafteſbury again into court, who was in confidence with the duke of Monmouth and lord Eſſex, and had a near relation to lord Sunderland. I obſerved the great affection his majeſty had to the duke of Monmouth, and ſaw plainly the uſe his grace intended to make of it, in caſe he could introduce a miniſtry at his own devotion, or in his intereſts: and this being a matter that might concern the very ſucceſſion of the crown, and not only an injury to the duke, but through him to his children, and the prince of Orange; I reſolved firſt, if it were poſſible, to break the growth of that miniſtry, though I ſaw no men whom I could deſign to fix in it, with any ſatisfaction or advantage to the king or his ſervice.

On the other ſide, I obſerved the parliament to grow every day more violent, upon the ſupport they received from the humours raiſed by the plot, and the incentives given them by the ambitions of perſons playing that game. I ſaw a probability of matters growing to ſuch a paſs, that his majeſty might be forced to part with them; and yet I ſaw not authority enough left in the crown, either to do that without the venture of great miſchiefs, or to live without another parliament till the preſent humours might cool. And both theſe conſiderations, meeting together, caſt me upon the thoughts of the king's eſtabliſhing a new council, of ſuch a conſtitution, as might either gain credit enough with the preſent parliament, by taking in ſo many perſons of thoſe who had moſt among them, and

and thereby give eaſe and quiet both to the king and his people; or if, on the other ſide, the humours ſhould grow outrageous and beyond oppoſing, the king might yet, at the head of ſuch a council, with more authority and leſs hazard of ill conſequences, either prorogue or diſſolve them, as any neceſſities of his own, or extravagancies of theirs ſhould require.

For theſe ends it ſeemed neceſſary to take into the council ſome lords and commoners who were of moſt appearing credit and ſway in both houſes, without being thought either principled or intereſted againſt the government; and mix them with others of his majeſty's more general choice, for making up one half of the council, whilſt the other half, being fifteen, were ever to be the preſent chief officers of his crown and houſhold, who being all of his majeſty's known truſt, as well as choice, would be ſure to keep the council ſteady to the true intereſt of his majeſty, and the crown.

But one chief regard, neceſſary to this conſtitution, was that of the perſonal riches of this new council; which, in revenues of land or offices, was found to amount to about three hundred thouſand pounds a year; whereas thoſe of a houſe of commons are ſeldom found to have exceeded four hundred thouſand pounds. And authority is obſerved much to follow land: and at the worſt, ſuch a council might, out of their own ſtock, and upon a pinch, furniſh the king ſo far as to relieve ſome great neceſſity of the crown.

This whole matter was conſulted and deduced upon paper, only between the king and me, and laſted in the debate and digeſtion about a month: but when the forms and perſons were agreed, and his majeſty ſeemed much ſatisfied with the thing, and reſolved to go on with it, I humbly deſired him not to take a reſolution of that importance, without firſt communicating it to three or four perſons of thoſe his majeſty could

could moſt rely upon in point of judgment, ſecrecy, and affection to his ſervice. The king reſolved I ſhould go and communicate the whole ſcheme, with all the particulars of it, to my * lord Chancellor, lord Sunderland, and lord Eſſex; but one after another; and with charge from him of the laſt ſecrecy; and ſhould bring him word of their opinions upon it: and if they concurred with his, ſhould appoint them to attend his majeſty next morning; the Chancellor only entering into his lodgings by the common way, but the other two and I by the private one below.

When I acquainted them with it, they all received it with equal amazement and pleaſure. My lord Chancellor ſaid, it looked like a thing from heaven, fallen into his majeſty's breaſt: lord Eſſex, that it would leave the parliament and nation in the ſame diſpoſitions to the king which he found at his coming in: and lord Sunderland approved it as much as any.

Next day we attended his majeſty, and had a very long audience; upon which no difficulty aroſe but two, that were wholly perſonal. I had propoſed lord Hallifax as one of the lords, whom the king had indeed kicked at, in our firſt conſultations, more than any of the reſt: but upon ſeveral repreſentations of his family, his abilities, his eſtate and credit, as well as talent to ridicule and unravel whatever he was ſpited at, I thought his majeſty had been contented with it: but, at this meeting, he raiſed new difficulties upon it, and appeared a great while invincible in them, though we all joined in the defence of it: and at laſt, I told the king, we would fall upon our knees to gain a point that we all thought neceſſary for his ſervice: and then his majeſty conſented.

The other was concerning lord Shafteſbury, who had never been mentioned in our firſt debates; and

* *Finch.*

the

the king either had not thought of him before upon this affair, or had not mentioned him to me, as knowing, upon all occaſions of private diſcourſe with his majeſty, what opinion I had of that lord. But after my lord Hallifax had paſſed, the king ſaid there was another, who, if he were left out, might do as much miſchief as any, and named lord Shafteſbury; to which the other three agreed: and concluded further, that he would never be content with a counſellor's place among thirty; and therefore it was propoſed to add one to the number, by making a preſident which ſhould be he. I diſputed this point, from the firſt mention, to the laſt concluſion of it, foretelling he would deſtroy all the good that we expected from the whole conſtitution: and ſaid all that I could with ſo much earneſtneſs, that when, by his majeſty's agreeing with the other three, I ſaw it would be concluded, I walked away to the other end of the room, not knowing well whether I ſhould have gone out or not, if the door had been open; but turning again, I deſired his majeſty to remember, that I had no part in lord Shafteſbury's coming into his council or his affairs; that his majeſty and the other three lords had reſolved it without me; and that I was ſtill abſolutely againſt it. The king laughed and turned my anger into a jeſt; and ſo went on with the reſt of the conſtitution intended, till the whole was reſolved and executed publicly in Eaſter 1679 *.

The night before the thing was to be done, his majeſty thought fit to tell it the duke of Monmouth; having kept it ſecret till then, further than to the four already named. But as ſoon as the duke of Monmouth knew, though only in general, that the council ſhould be changed, he told it ſo many, that it was common talk next morning; which we interpreted either lightneſs or vanity, to have it thought, that he had

* See the Appendix.

part

part in an affair likely to pass so well. And indeed, when the thing was done in the forms that are known, it was received with general applause in the country, with bonfires in the city, and the same in Ireland: in Holland, the actions of the East-India company rose upon it immediately, and very much; and the States designed one of their best and most considerable men, monsieur Van Lewen, to come over minister into England upon this occasion. France alone was unsatisfied with it, and monsieur Barillon said it was making *des Etats* [States] and not *des conseils* [councils]; but the reasons were easy to see, and so not much considered.

The house of commons received it with most coldness, where the contrary was most expected: and the pretending knowers among them, who were not of the council, pretended now to know nothing of it, to expect new revelations, to doubt it might be a new court-juggle, and to refer it to time to tell what it was in truth; in the mean while to suspend their judgments.

This was the first effect of my lord Shaftesbury's good meaning to the king and his affairs, into which he was entered, but not with the personal or transcendent credit he aimed at with his majesty, and which he thought those who had been authors of this new constitution had the greatest share in. This made him fall in more absolutely with the duke of Monmouth, and use all their endeavours to raise such discontents and heats in the houses, upon the apprehensions of popery, and propositions to prevent it, that the king found himself soon upon as uneasy terms with this session of parliament, as he had been with the last; the humours being engaged by my lord Shaftesbury's pretending among his patriots, that the duke of Monmouth had so much credit with the king, that his majesty desired but a good occasion of consenting to all the parliament

ſhould inſiſt on, which would be given him by their heat and obſtinacy, in ſo popular a point as that againſt popery: and if that were once gained, the duke of Monmouth and he ſhould be able to ſteer all the reſt, to the ſatisfaction of thoſe who called themſelves the good or the honeſt party.

Such a miſchief could never have grown, if lord Shafteſbury had not worked himſelf up into credit, both in parliament and city, by the appearance of having it with the king, and in the council where he was preſident; and by the infuſions given of his having or growing yet into greater by a more ſecret ſpring, which was the intereſt of the duke of Monmouth, and the kindneſs of his majeſty increaſing, as appeared ſince the duke's abſence. I cannot believe but all this would have been avoided, if, upon the new conſtitution, lord Shafteſbury had been left out, as a perſon marked by his majeſty, and never to enter more into his affairs or confidence; which the whole courſe of his life, from his very firſt entrance upon publick ſtages, if examined never ſo ſtrictly, would have given good ground for. But this fate, as I could not prevent by all my endeavours, ſo I had foretold it his majeſty the year before: when, upon my coming over, the king had fallen into all the violent expreſſions that could be againſt him; I told his majeſty, that, with his good leave, I would hold any wager, I ſhould yet ſee that lord again in his buſineſs; and when the king aſked me what made me think ſo, I ſaid, becauſe I knew he was reſtleſs while he was out, and would try every door to get in; had wit and induſtry to find out the ways; and, when money would work, had as much as any body to beſtow, and ſkill enough to know where to place it.

This turn in the king's affairs, upon this new conſtitution, gave me ſo great a vexation, and ſo ill a proſpect, that, having delayed the time preſcribed for every

every man's receiving the ſacrament according to law, after his entrance into publick employment, till it was very near expired; I once reſolved, by that omiſſion, to make myſelf abſolutely incapable of bearing any for the future; and was not perſuaded to lay aſide that thought till after long debates upon it with my wife and ſiſter here at Sheen: but that matter paſſed in form, and I continued barely of the council, with a reſolution of not entering upon the ſecretary's office, though often and earneſtly urged to it by lord Sunderland, with others of my friends.

Upon the new conſtitution of the council, my lord Sunderland had, by Mr. Sidney, deſired that we two might join together in perfect confidence, and diſtinct from any others in the courſe of the king's affairs whether I would enter into the other ſecretary's office, or no; which I ſaid I was very willing to embrace, though I knew no need of it, conſidering how much the general affairs were devolved upon the council, or the particular committees, and how much I thought it was fit that they ſhould continue ſo, without running into any private channels. This confidence had not run on above a fortnight, when my lord Sunderland aſked me, if I were willing my lord Eſſex ſhould be received into it; which I conſented to though with intimation to lord Sunderland of the opinion I had (for ſome time of late) of lord Eſſex, whom I thought I knew better than he did. So we met, for a while, once a day by turns, at each of our houſes, and conſulted upon the chief affairs that were then on the anvil, and how they might be beſt prepared for the parliament or the council: but matters growing very untoward, by the practices of lord Shafteſbury, with the duke of Monmouth's cover at leaſt, and upon the ill humour of the houſe of commons about the buſineſs of religion; and my lord Hallifax appearing unſatisfied, by obſerving where the king's confidence

was; I propoſed to my lords Sunderland and Eſſex, to receive him into all our conſultations; which I thought would both enter him into credit with the king, and give us more eaſe in the courſe of his affairs. Lord Eſſex received this overture with his uſual dryneſs; lord Sunderland oppoſed it a good deal, and told me, I ſhould not find lord Hallifax the perſon I took him for, but one that could draw with no-body, and ſtill climbing up to the top himſelf. However I continued reſolute in preſſing it, and ſo at length the thing was concluded, and we fell all four together into the uſual meetings and conſultations.

The chief matters that lay before the king at that time were, firſt, the ſatisfaction of his people by falling into ſome meaſures with the parliament that might enable him to look abroad in ſuch a figure as became the crown of England, and was neceſſary for preventing the common fears of a new invaſion of France upon Flanders or Holland, which looked very deſperate without ſome ſtrong and reſolute protection from England.

The ſecond was a reſolution to be taken in anſwer to the inſtances made by monſieur Van Lewen from the States, about a new guaranty to be given upon the late general peace by his majeſty, particularly to Spain in the buſineſs of Flanders.

The third was the giving ſome eaſe to Scotland, where the humours began to ſwell about this time; and which we conceived could be no way done ſo eaſily, as by removal of the duke of Lauderdale; a man too much hated both here and there, to be fit for the temper his majeſty ſeemed reſolved to uſe in his affairs.

For this laſt, we could not upon any terms obtain it of the king, by all the arguments uſed (both jointly and ſeverally) by us all four; the king's defence being a very true one, that we none of us knew Scotland ſo well as his majeſty himſelf.

For

For the second, we easily agreed upon the measures that seemed necessary for the satisfaction of the States, and the safety of Flanders; being all four of the committee, where all the foreign affairs were consulted; and taking the duke of Monmouth and lord Shaftesbury into the first digestion of this treaty with Holland, at a meeting for that purpose, at my lord Hallifax's house; which was the only time I ever had any thing to do, or so much as talk, with my lord Shaftesbury, further than the council chamber.

For the first thing, which was the most important, we found it more perplexed than we could imagine. Both houses of parliament seemed to have no eyes, but for the dangers of popery upon the duke's succession to the crown; which humour was blown up by all the arts and intrigues of the duke of Monmouth and lord Shaftesbury. The king seemed willing to secure them all that could be against those fears, without changing the laws in point of succession. * The house of commons were busy in finding out expedients to secure this point, but could agree on none; being still diverted from fixing on any by lord Shaftesbury's practices. The council fell upon the same scent with great earnestness and endeavour; and, after much hammering, agreed upon many heads to be offered the parliament, which are commonly enough known.

These expedients were agreed to by all the council, except my lord Shaftesbury and me; who were against them upon very different grounds. Mine were two; first, because I believed, that nothing that came first from the king upon these points would be accepted by the commons; who, if they would be satisfied at all, I thought should first agree upon what, and leave it to the king to take or refuse. The second was, that as I did not see any certain ease these expedients would give the king, though agreed to by the houses; so it

* See the Appendix.

was evident to all men, that they would leave the crown after him in ſhackles, which, put on upon the duke's occaſion, and in his time, would not be eaſily knocked off by any ſucceſſor. My lord Shafteſbury's ground was plain, and ſo expreſſed by him upon all occaſions; which was, that there could be no ſecurity againſt the duke, if once in poſſeſſion of the crown: and this being well infuſed by his and the duke of Monmouth's friends into the houſe of commons, occaſioned their ſullen rejecting all the expedients offered them by the king, and laid the foundation for the proceedings of the late houſe of commons, and the ſtrange diſorders wherein they have left affairs at home, and thereby the deſperate condition of affairs abroad.

During all theſe tranſactions the three lords and I continued our conſtant meetings and conſultations; and with ſo much union, and ſo diſintereſted endeavours for the general good of his majeſty's ſervice and the kingdom's, that I could not but ſay to them, at the end of one of our meetings, that we four were either the four honeſteſt men in England, or the greateſt knaves; for we made one another at leaſt believe, that we were the honeſteſt men in the world.

But this conjunction held not long: for, after the houſes rejecting the expedients offered by the king and council, my lord Shafteſbury finding himſelf neither in confidence with the king, nor credit in the council, turned all his practices and hopes to the houſe of commons, and inflamed them to that degree, as made the three lords of my commerce begin to grow uneaſy, and to caſt about which way they might lay this ſtorm. At length my lord Sunderland told me that lord Eſſex and lord Hallifax were of opinion, that it was neceſſary to take in the duke of Monmouth and lord Shafteſbury into the firſt digeſtion of affairs, conſidering the influence they had upon the houſe; and for this end to agree with them in the baniſhment of the duke,

duke, either for a certain term, or during the king's life; and desired to know whether I would fall into it with them, and join in bringing it about with the king. I told my lord Sunderland positively I would not: for, first, I would never have any thing to do with the duke of Monmouth and lord Shaftesbury; and next, I would never enter into matters of difference between the king and his brother; having upon several occasions told them both, that I would ever do all I could towards the union of the whole royal family; but never would have any thing to do in the divisions of it; and no man should ever reproach me with breaking my word, and much less the king or the duke.

This was peremptory, and so it ended; and thereupon the three lords fell into meetings and consultations with the duke of Monmouth and lord Shaftesbury, which I knew nothing of, and began to come less to council, and to meet no more with my usual company, but upon occasion, and without the first confidence; but we still continued our kindness wherever we met, without my enquiring, or they communicating, what passed in their new consultations.

But this lasted not long neither: for, within a fortnight, or little more, they began to find the duke of Monmouth and lord Shaftesbury unreasonable, and like to prevail upon the house of commons to endeavour bringing the king into necessities of yielding all points to them, and thereby leaving the duke of Monmouth and lord Shaftesbury absolutely at the head of all affairs; so that the three lords began to make their complaints of it, and to fall upon the thoughts of proroguing the parliament, as the only remedy left in the present distemper. I agreed with them in this overture, and the rather, because I foresaw it would absolutely break the three lords from all commerce with the duke of Monmouth and lord Shaftesbury; and so we agreed to propose it to his majesty,

and that it ſhould be debated and reſolved at council; where the chief officers depending upon the king, being one half of the council, and joining with others of us that were of his more indifferent choice, we concluded the reſolution could not fail to be taken by the majority of the council; if the reaſons and neceſſity of it ſhould not prevail with ſome of thoſe who ſeemed moſt in my lord Shafteſbury's confidence, to leave him upon this occaſion. And in this reſolution we parted, and appointed to meet again two days after for the fixing it with his majeſty, upon my engaging to go for ſo long down into the country, where I ſtaid my two days, and came up the third morning early.

Upon my arrival, I found my lord Sunderland had called or ſent ſeveral times to my houſe the night before, and left word that he muſt needs ſpeak with me ſo ſoon as I came to town. I ſent immediately to Whitehall, but found his lordſhip was gone already with the king to the houſe of lords; whereupon I went to lord Eſſex, who was neareſt me, and aſked whether any thing new had happened. He told me that the king had found out, there were remonſtrances ready prepared in the houſe of commons, to inflame the city and nation upon the points of plot and popery; and that their three lordſhips having upon it conſulted with his majeſty, he had reſolved the parliament ſhould be prorogued that morning upon the king's coming to the houſe, and that it could not be allowed time or vent by a debate of council; which, for my part, I thought an ill omiſſion, and that it ought to have the authority of the king with advice of his council, according to the uſual forms: but it paſſed otherwiſe, and with very great reſentment of both houſes; and ſuch rage of my lord Shafteſbury, that he ſaid upon it aloud in the houſe, that he would have the heads of thoſe who were the adviſers of this prorogation.

During

During this seſſion of parliament, I had ſeveral notices given me of a practice ſet on foot in the houſe of commons for impeaching me as one that had been an inſtrument of making the general peace; and this was urged by ſtories, of being a man of arbitrary principles, and one that had written ſeveral things, though without name, againſt the conſtitution of parliaments, and in favour of popery: and this went ſo far, that * Mr. Mountague went a great way from man to man in the houſe, to know whether, if ſuch an accuſation were brought in, they would be againſt me. Several went into it upon hatred to the late treaſurer, whoſe friend they took me to be, and upon envy at my being deſigned for ſecretary of ſtate; but yet in no ſuch numbers that Mr. Mountague could hope to make any thing of it: and when ſome of my friends acquainted me with it, I only deſired them to obtain leave of the houſe, that I might hear my accuſation at the bar of the houſe, and aſſured them that I ſhould be glad to have that occaſion of telling there both Mr. Mountague's ſtory and my own. This fell; but upon the knowledge of theſe practices, my lord Sunderland, and Mr. † Sydney, who thought that a man, who had ſuch a part in the king's affairs, ought to ſtand as well as he could with the houſe of commons, preſſed me to ſuffer ſeveral ſmall things I had formerly written, and of which copies had run, to be then printed, as they were, under the title of *Miſcellanea*. They thought, by that publication men would ſee I was not a man of the dangerous principles pretended; and I might aſſure the world, of being author of no books that had not my name. The thing ſeemed to paſs well enough; only lord Hallifax, commending them to me in general, told me as a friend, that I ſhould take heed of

* Afterwards duke of Mountague, † Afterwards earl of Rumney.

carrying

carrying too far that principle of paternal dominion (which was deduced in the eſſay *Of government*) for fear of deſtroying the rights of the people. So tender was every body of thoſe points at that time.

The three lords and I went on unanimous in our conſultations; conſidering how to make way for a calmer and better-tempered ſeſſion of parliament, after the ſhort prorogation which had been made. To which purpoſe, we again endeavoured the removal of the duke of Lauderdale, or at leaſt the admiſſion of other nobles of Scotland in thoſe affairs. We concluded the meaſures with Holland in all points, to the ſatisfaction of their ambaſſador; and thought of ſuch acts of council, as might expreſs his majeſty's care for ſuppreſſing popery even in the intervals of parliament. We only diſagreed in one point, which was the leaving ſome prieſts to the law upon the accuſation of being prieſts only, as the houſe of commons had deſired; which I thought wholly unjuſt, without giving them publick warning by proclamation to be gone, or expect the penalties of law within ſuch a time; ſince the connivances had laſted now through three kings reigns: upon this point, lord Hallifax and I had ſo ſharp a debate at lord Sunderland's lodgings, that he told me, if I would not concur in points which were ſo neceſſary for the people's ſatisfaction, he would tell every body I was a papiſt: and upon his affirming, that the plot muſt be handled as if it were true, whether it were ſo or no, in thoſe points that were ſo generally believed by city or country as well as both houſes; I replied, with ſome heat, That the plot was a matter long on foot before I came over into England; that to underſtand it, one muſt have been here to obſerve all the motions of it; which not having done, I would have nothing to do with it: in other things I was content to join with them, where they thought I could

could be of use to the king's service; and where they thought there was none, I was very willing to be excused; and very glad to leave his majesty's affairs in so good hands as theirs.

Notwithstanding some such differences between me and the three lords, yet we continued our consultations and confidence; and two of them, lord Sunderland and Hallifax, pressed me extremely about this time to come into the secretary's place. Lord Hallifax particularly offering to bring it to a point with his uncle Coventry upon the money that was to be paid; pretending to be very desirous to see me posted there; and professing to grow weary of the business, since he could find no temper like to grow in the next session of parliament between the king and them. For since the last prorogation, lord Shaftesbury had been busy in preparing fuel for next session, not without perpetual appearance of ill humour at council, which broke into spiteful repartees often betwixt him and lord Hallifax. And on t'other side, the duke of Monmouth had broken all measures with lord Essex, with whom he had been long in the last confidence: so as this grew to a spited quarrel between these four; and though commonly smothered when they met, yet not without smoke appearing where they were observed.

In this condition of affairs the rebellion in Scotland broke out; upon which it was pleasant to observe the counterpaces that were made. The king was for suppressing it immediately, by forces from hence to be dispatched and joined with those in Scotland, and the duke of Monmouth to go and command them all. Lord Shaftesbury shewed plainly at council, and in other places, that he was unwilling this rising should be wholly or too soon suppressed, or otherwise than by his friends in Scotland, who might be thereby introduced into the direction of affairs there, with the removal of the duke of Lauderdale; yet, on the other side,

he

he was willing to ſee the duke of Monmouth grow great by ſuch a command of the king's forces both Engliſh and Scots; and agreed with that duke, to put the king upon another project at the ſame time, and to the ſame end, which was (upon the duke of Monmouth's carrying ſo many of the forces here into Scotland) to raiſe a troop of two hundred gentlemen for the guard and ſafety of the king's perſon, whereof the duke of Monmouth to be captain; and which was to be compoſed chiefly of officers who were out of employment, and whoſe merits were beſt known to the duke of Monmouth.

On t'other ſide, lord Eſſex, though he agreed with the king's opinion, to have the Scots inſurrection ſuppreſſed; yet he had a mind it ſhould be done by the Scots, to prevent the duke of Monmouth's growing greater than he yet was by that command; eſpecially if it ſhould be followed with ſucceſs. And though he would not oppoſe his majeſty in his reſolution of ſending the duke of Monmouth upon this expedition; yet he did very openly the other deſign, which the king himſelf ſeemed much bent upon, as well as the duke of Monmouth, to raiſe the troop of two hundred gentlemen. The other two lords and I fell in with him in this laſt; though lord Eſſex was moſt inſtrumental in breaking it, by raiſing invincible difficulties in the treaſury, where he was at the head: ſo as, upon compoſition, money was found for the duke of Monmouth's marching into Scotland, and with great eaſe to him in his perſonal pretenſions; and the new troop was let fall upon want of money.

The duke of Monmouth went into Scotland; ſucceeded; took the body of rebels; ſuppreſſed abſolutely the rebellion; ordered the puniſhment of ſome; gave pardon to the reſt; returned in triumph; was received with great applauſes and court from all; with great appearance of kindneſs and credit by the king,

king, who was now removed to Windſor, and the council to Hampton-Court, where the duke of Monmouth was received.

The term of the prorogation of parliament drew near expiring, and all agreed that a ſeſſion could not conveniently begin before October: and a day was appointed for conſidering that matter at council. The duke of Monmouth was greater than ever: lord Shafteſbury reckoned upon being ſo too, upon the next meeting of parliament, and at the coſt of thoſe whom he took to be the authors of the laſt prorogation: lord Eſſex and Hallifax looked upon themſelves as moſt in his danger, and aimed at by lord Shafteſbury's threats, and out of all meaſures with the duke of Monmouth. This induced a conſultation among us, whether, conſidering the diſtempers of the preſent parliament, the beſt courſe were not to diſſolve it, and have another called in October; wherein the three lords and I agreed; and the king was perfectly of the ſame mind, conſidering with what diſtempers that parliament both began and continued. So it was reſolved, that the king ſhould propoſe, at next council, whether it were beſt to prorogue that parliament, or diſſolve it, and at the ſame time call another; and that, in the mean time, the lord chancellor, and the other chief officers depending upon the king, ſhould be acquainted with his mind, either by his majeſty or the three lords. For, ſince the king's going to Windſor, I continued at Sheen, and only went to Hampton-Court on council-days; though the three lords came often to me, and preſſed me as often to come as they did to court, and lord Hallifax proteſted he would burn my houſe, and that, if I would not enter upon the ſecretary's office, his uncle Coventry would look out for ſome other chapman; for as ſoon as he had found one, he was reſolved to part with it. I told him I was very willing, and would ſpeak to the king, that his market ſhould

not be ſpoiled upon any occaſion. Whether his lordſhip believed me or no, I did ſo, and deſired his majeſty to think of ſome other for that place; for my ill health increaſing with my age, made me find myſelf unable to go through with the toils of that office, if executed in the forms and with the attendance it required. The king told me, he could not conſent to it; that if he ſhould, he knew not a man in England fit for it beſides me, ſo that I had no reaſon to take it kindly of him. I deſired his majeſty to give me leave and I would propoſe three perſons, of which I would undertake every one ſhould be fitter than I. The king would not ſo much as hear me name them; but told me, it was a point he had been ſo long fixed in, that he could not change his reſolution.

In our laſt meeting we had calculated how many at council could, in any probability, oppoſe the diſſolving of the preſent parliament, and calling another; and we had concluded, there could not be above ſix in the whole council that could be againſt it at the moſt; which we thought would be a great ſupport to the king's reſolution, againſt all the exclamations we expected from lord Shafteſbury and his friends; and at leaſt, that it would be ſafe againſt the conſequences which were uſually deduced from the forms of calling parliaments always by advice of the council, that the diſſolving of them ought to be ſo too, at leaſt when it was not at their own deſire.

The council-day came; and when I came thither, and found the king and three lords, with ſome others already there, I aſked lord Sunderland and Hallifax, whether all was prepared, and lord Chancellor and other chief officers had been ſpoke to? They ſaid, no, it had been forgotten or neglected; but the king would do it to each of them apart as they came that morning, and before the council began. I thought it hard, a point of that importance ſhould be neglected

lected ſo long; but was fain to content myſelf with what they told me would be done. The outward room, where the king was, filled apace; every one made his leg to his majeſty, and filled the circle about him as they came in: I was talking apart, in a corner of the room, till it grew late, and lord Chancellor told the king that it was ſo, and I ſaw the king turn from the Chancellor, and go into the council-chamber: all followed; the council ſat; the king propoſed his thoughts, whether it was beſt for his affairs to prorogue this parliament till October, or to diſſolve it, and call another at that time; and deſired their lordſhips opinions upon it.

I obſerved a general ſurprize at the board; which made me begin to doubt, the king had ſpoke of it to few or none but the Chancellor before he came in: but it ſoon appeared he had not ſo much as done that neither: for, after a long pauſe, he was the firſt that roſe up, and ſpoke long and violently againſt the diſſolution; and was followed by lord Shafteſbury in the ampleſt manner, and moſt tragical terms; lord Angleſey followed them, by urging all the fatal conſequences that could be: the ſame ſtyle was purſued by lord † Chamberlain, and agreed to by the marquis of Worceſter; and purſued from the top to the very bottom of the table by every man there, and at a very full council; except the three lords who ſpoke for the diſſolution, but neither with half the length or force of argument they intended to have done; leaving that part, as I ſuppoſed, to me, who was, I confeſs, well enough inſtructed in the caſe, to have ſaid more upon that argument: but I was ſpited from the firſt that I heard of my lord Chancellor's ſpeech, and ſtill more and more as every man ſpoke, at the conſequences happened by ſuch a negligence of my

† Earl of Arlington.

friends;

friends, who had been perpetually about the king, and might so easily have effected what was agreed on, and thought so necessary. I was the last but one to speak, and saw argument would signify nothing, after such inequality was declared in number; and so contented myself to say in short, That I thought it was every man's opinion, that a happy agreement between his majesty and parliament was of necessity to his affairs both at home and abroad: that all the difference, in a continuance of this, or assembling of another parliament, would depend only upon the likelihood of agreeing better and easier with one than with t'other: that his majesty had spoken so much of his despairing about any agreement with this present parliament, and the hopes he had of doing it with another, that, for my part, I thought that ought to decide it; because I thought his majesty could better judge of that point than any body else. So his majesty ordered the chancellor to draw up a proclamation for dissolving that parliament, and calling another to assemble in October following: and thereupon the council broke up, with the greatest rage in the world of the lord Shaftesbury, lord Russel, and two or three more, and the general dissatisfaction of the whole board.

After the council ended, every man's head began to fill with the thoughts of the new elections, and several spoke to the king upon that subject. I had resolved to stand for the university of Cambridge; and, the duke of Monmouth being chancellor, I desired the king to speak to him, to write to some of his friends in my favour: he excused himself, first, upon engagements; but the king pressed him upon mine, as a thing of importance; and that he could not be otherwise engaged before he knew of the parliament's being dissolved, I said a good deal too upon it: but do what the king could, by all he was pleased to say the duke of Monmouth would not be brought further, than

than to ſay, he would not meddle in it one way or t'other; which gave me the firſt plain and open teſtimony of his diſpoſitions towards me, having ever received before all outward civilities, though without my viſits or attendances. Yet, I think, his grace kept his word with me in this point better than I expected: for my election in the univerſity proceeded with the moſt general concurrence that could be there, and without any difficulties I could obſerve from that ſide; thoſe which were raiſed coming from the biſhop of Ely; who owned the oppoſing me from the chapter *Of religion* in my *Obſervations on the Netherlands*, which gave him an opinion, that mine was for ſuch a toleration of religion, as is there deſcribed to be in Holland.

The council, after this day, was put off till the king's return to London, according to the uſe of that ſeaſon; and every one began to canvas for elections in the enſuing parliament, upon which all his majeſty's affairs ſeemed to depend. The king, in the mean time, reſolved to do all that could help to make fair weather there. I told my friends I would take care of my election, and go down about it; but, for the reſt, would paſs my time at home the remainder of the ſummer, and recommended the common cares to the three lords; whoſe attendance, I knew, would not fail at court, two of them from their offices, and the * third from his humour; which he owned always muſt have buſineſs to employ it, or would elſe be uneaſy.

The ſummer was declining, but the duke of Monmouth in his greateſt heighth, when the king fell ſick at Windſor, and with three ſuch fits of a fever as gave much apprehenſion, and that a general amazement; people looking upon any thing, at this time, that

* The marquis of Hallifax.

ſhould happen ill to the king as an end of the world. I went to Windſor, after the ſecond fit; and having ſeen his majeſty obſerved more ſtrength and fewer ill ſymptoms than had been reported; nor could I think him in danger, without accidents, which was to be the care of his phyſicians, who were ſome of them wholly of my mind. I found and left the three lords very diligent at court, in attending both his perſon and affairs, which I was very glad of; and ſo came home without entering further into any diſcourſes with them, than of his majeſty's ſickneſs; which was then the general diſcourſe and care.

About three or four days having received aſſurance of the king's certain recovery, by being free of any return of his fever fits, I went up to London to ſollicit a great arrear of my embaſſies due from the treaſury. The commiſſioners were met that morning at my lord Eſſex's houſe, whither I went ſtraight; but, by the way, heard that the duke was that night paſſed through London, and rode poſt to Windſor; which I doubted not his highneſs had been induced to by the reports of the king's danger, upon the news of his ſickneſs; and made no further reflection upon it, than that of the great ſurprize, and *martel en tête* [uneaſineſs] that would be given lord Eſſex and Hallifax by this ſudden arrival of the duke, to whoſe intereſt they had run ſo counter, and with ſuch heighths, for ſeveral years. But upon their late ſeparating all meaſures from the duke of Monmouth and lord Shafteſbury, I thought I had field enough left for doing them good offices to the duke, when I ſhould ſee him, which I reſolved the next day.

When I came to lord Eſſex's houſe, and aſked for the commiſſioners, I found they were ſat ſome time, but that lord Eſſex had newly left them together, and was gone up into his chamber, whither I was immediately ſent for; his ſervants went out and left him booted,

booted, and ready to get up on horſeback. As ſoon as we were alone, he aſked me, whether I had not met with ſtrange news, and what I thought of it? I ſaid, it did not ſeem very ſtrange that the duke ſhould come, if he thought the king in danger. Lord Eſſex replied, yet 'twas ſtrange he ſhould come without leave from the king; and that, now his majeſty was well, ſure he would not think of ſtaying three days: that he was going as faſt as he could to Windſor, to ſee what all this buſineſs was; and aſked me if I would not go; which I excuſed for that day, but promiſed the next. In this little diſcourſe, I obſerved all along a ſneering ſmile, which I knew not what to make of; I thought, if it were a countenance, it was better put on than was uſual with his lordſhip; and that he ſhould be pleaſed with it at heart, I could not well imagine, knowing how things had paſſed between the duke and him.

Next day I went to Windſor; and the firſt man I met was lord Hallifax coming down from court on foot, and with a face of trouble; and as ſoon as he ſaw me, with hands lift up two or three times; upon which I ſtopt, and alightning, aſked what was the matter; he told me, I knew all as well as he; that the duke was come; that every body was amazed; but where we were, or what would be next, no body knew: he bid me go on to court before the king went out; ſaid he was going to his lodging, to ſit and think over this new world: but deſired we might meet, and my lord Sunderland, after dinner.

I went to the king; and after him to the duke, who received me with great kindneſs, and preſently carried me into a little inner room, and aſked me ſmiling and very familiarly, whether I did not wonder to ſee him here: I told him, not at all, if he had thought the king in danger; for in that caſe his highneſs had nothing elſe to do: and that I believed, upon the firſt

news of his majesty's illness, he would come as near as he could, either to Newport or Calais, and there expect the next news; but that, his majesty's sickness having passed so soon, I confessed I had not thought of his coming over. We talked of the king's recovery, what stay his highness would make, which he said should be as the king pleased, for he would obey him in every thing.

I gave the duke a short account of affairs here, as they had passed since the constitution of the council; of the mischiefs had been occasioned by the lord Shaftesbury's having been brought in so much against my will; of his measures with the duke of Monmouth; of the three lords having absolutely broken from him; of the credit they were grown into with the king; and of my confidence, they would never fall into any measures against his highness: upon which chapter I said a great deal that I thought necessary to make lord Essex and Hallifax's court, which I was very glad to see so well received by the duke: for, as to lord Sunderland, I had little reason to believe he needed it, having ever been in with the court in the whole course of his life. For myself, I only said at last, that, because I did not know what our present distempers might end in if the next parliament should prove of the same humour with the two last, nor what measures his highness would fall into about staying or going away again; I would only say, that, let whatever would befal the king's affairs or his highness's, he might always reckon upon me as a legal man, and one that would always follow the crown as became me; nor could any thing make the least scruple in this resolution, unless things should ever grow so desperate, as to bring in foreigners, which (if ever it should be) would be a new case, and that I knew not what to think of. Upon this the duke laid his hand upon mine, and bid me keep there, and said, that he would

ask

aſk no more of me or any man: and ſo I parted after a long and very gracious audience, and came home that night having miſſed my lord Hallifax and Eſſex in the afternoon at lord Sunderland's, where we had appointed to meet, and I came, but they failed; and lord Sunderland and I talked deep into nothing, reſerving ourſelves, as I thought, till the others came.

I ſtaid at home, making the reflections I could not avoid upon the carriage of my friends; till within a few days I heard the news of the duke of Monmouth's diſgrace; which though it came by ſome degrees, yet they were ſo ſudden one after another, as to make it appear a loſt game in the king's favour and reſolutions. Though nothing could ſeem more reaſonable than that which it ended in, that, while the duke was abroad, the duke of Monmouth ſhould be ſo too; having made his pretenſions ſo evident, and purſued them ſo much to the prejudice of the king's affairs; however, I could not but wonder, how the duke had been able in ſo few days, or rather hours, to get ſo great a victory. I went within a day or two to London, found my lord Hallifax in phyſic, but ſaw plainly his diſtemper was not what he called it; his head looked very full, but very unquiet; and when we were left alone, all our talk was by ſnatches; ſickneſs, ill humour, hate of town and buſineſs, ridiculouſneſs of human life; and whenever I turned any thing to the preſent affairs after our uſual manner, nothing but action of hands or eyes, wonder, and ſigns of trouble, and then ſilence.

I came home, and ſatisfied enough upon what terms I was with my friends, though I knew not whence it came, or whither it went. But I ſoon found out the whole ſecret; which was, that, upon the king's firſt illneſs, the lords Eſſex and Hallifax, being about him, thought his danger great, and their own ſo too; and that, if any thing happened to the king's life, the

duke of Monmouth would be at the head of the nation, in oppoſition to the duke upon pretence of popery, and in conjunction with lord Shafteſbury, who had threatened to have their heads upon prorogation of the laſt parliament; which threat was applied by lords Eſſex and Hallifax to themſelves; reckoning lord Sunderland out of danger by his relation to lord Shafteſbury, and the fair terms that had always made between them. This fright had ſo affected theſe lords, that, not ſtaying to ſee what the king's ſecond fit would be, they propoſed to the king the ſending immediately for the duke; which being reſolved, and the diſpatch made with all the ſecrecy and ſpeed imaginable, the duke came over; but finding the king recovered, it was agreed to paſs for a journey wholly of his own, and that it ſhould be received by his majeſty and the three lords with all ſigns of ſurprize. When this was done, they found the duke of Monmouth ſo enraged at this counſel, as well as lord Shafteſbury, that they ſaw no way but to ruin them both, and throw them quite out of the king's affairs, and joining themſelves wholly with the duke's intereſt; which they did for that time, till they had brought about all his highneſs deſired for his ſecurity againſt the duke of Monmouth and lord Shafteſbury; the firſt going over into Holland, and the other being turned out of the council.

For my own part, though I was glad of any mortification that happened to the duke of Monmouth and lord Shafteſbury, whoſe deſigns had run the kingdom into ſuch incurable diviſions and diſtractions, at a time that our union was ſo neceſſary to the affairs of Chriſtendom abroad; yet I was ſpited to the heart at the carriage of my friends towards me in this affair; and not ſo much for their taking ſuch a reſolution without my knowledge and concert (which they never had done ſince our firſt commerce) as for keeping me ignorant after the duke's coming over; and ſo far, as to let me make

make such a figure as I did, in doing all the good offices, and making all the court I could to the duke, for lords Essex and Hallifax, as I told them I would do; while they were both in the depth and secret of his interests and counsels; and I, who had reason to think myself well with his highness, was left wholly out of all confidence both with him and with them. But I had reason to resent it yet further, when I found that some of them, perceiving the duke much unsatisfied with the constitution of the new council, had, to make their own court, laid the whole load of it upon me; whereas, if my lord Chancellor, lord Sunderland, and lord Essex had not fallen into it with the greatest applauses and endeavours in the world to finish the draught of it, the thing had certainly died; and for my own part, after I could not hinder my lord Shaftesbury's being brought in, I would have been very well content it should.

I could not but tell my lord Sunderland of these resentments; and that I found myself so unfit for courts, that I was resolved to pass the rest of my life in my own domestique, without troubling myself further about any public affairs, than not to appear sullen in not coming sometimes to general councils; and that lord Essex and Hallifax's carriage to me had been such, after having been the two men of England I had it in my power and my fortunes most to oblige, that I would never have any thing more to do with them. This I said only to one person more; and how it came to be known by two their lordships, I cannot tell; but there all commerce between us ended, further than what was common when we met at council, or in third places; though lord Hallifax came to an eclaircissement with me the spring after, which ended very well, and I did him the service I could upon occasion in the late house, as well as in council, upon their heats against him.

I passed the rest of the summer at home, and left the three lords in the chief ministry and sole confidence, as outwardly appeared, both with the king and duke: and lord Essex told my brother Sir John Temple, who was then here, that he had more credit with the king than all the rest of the ministers, or any man in England: but the refined courtiers, who observe countenances and motions, had no opinion of it: and, soon after, lord Essex and Hallifax, upon the private examination of an intrigue I could never make any thing of, nor thought worth my enquiry, which was commonly called the meal-tub plot, took such a distaste at finding themselves mentioned in it, and yet left out of the secret examinations about it, that the duke was no sooner gone, but their discontents grew open against the court; my lord Essex left the treasury; lord Hallifax, in discourse to me, commended him for it, and told me his resolution to go down into the country; and though he could not plant melons as I did, being in the North, yet he would plant carrots and cucumbers, rather than trouble himself any more about public affairs; and accordingly he went down to Rufford. To their nearer friends I heard they complained, that they found they had no sound part in the king's confidence or the duke's, that they were but other mens dupes, and did other mens work; and that, finding no measures would be taken for satisfying and uniting the kingdom, they would have no more part in public affairs.

Upon lord Essex's leaving the treasury, Mr. * Hyde came of course to be first commissioner; and he and Mr. † Godolphin were brought into the council; where I met them the next time I came, and welcomed them, as two persons that had always been my friends, and agreed with me in all my opinions and measures about

* Afterwards earl of Rochester. † Afterwards earl of Godolphin.

affairs

affairs abroad, wherein only we had been converſant in our commerce, either at Nimeguen, the Hague, or at home. Theſe two joined in confidence with lord Sunderland; and the other two lords being in diſcontent or abſent, and I keeping at home both upon my reſolution and inclination; theſe three were eſteemed to be alone in the ſecret and management of the king's affairs, and looked upon as the miniſtry.

October came on, wherein the parliament was to meet. The duke was in Flanders: the duke of Monmouth in Holland: lord Shafteſbury endeavoured to inflame the reckoning of the late conduct and counſels againſt the ſitting of the parliament, and to ſet afoot petitions in caſe they did not ſit: the miniſters were not able to ſtand the opening of the parliament; and ſo a ſhort prorogation was expected ſome days before that appointed for their aſſembly. I had not been at court or council in a month or ſix weeks; when, being recovered of a fit of the gout, I came to town, and went to lord Sunderland, talked to him of my ſeveral arrears in the treaſury, deſired his help, which he promiſed with great kindneſs, and went with me to the king, where we propoſed and agreed the way of my ſatisfaction. The king ſeemed very kind to me, but neither one or t'other of them ſaid a word to me of any public buſineſs. From the king's chamber we went to the council, where I expected nothing but ſuch common things as I knew had paſſed, for a good while before; and ſo all paſſed, till I thought the council was ending, when the king after a little pauſe told us, that upon many conſiderations, which he could not at preſent acquaint us with, he found it neceſſary to make a longer prorogation than he had intended of the parliament: that he had conſidered all the conſequences, ſo far as to be abſolutely reſolved, and not to hear any thing that ſhould be ſaid againſt it: that he would have it prorogued till that time twelvemonth;

and

and charged my lord Chancellor to proceed accordingly.

All at council were ſtunned at this ſurpriſing reſolution, and the way of propoſing it, except thoſe few that were in the ſecret, and they thought fit to be ſilent, and leave the thing wholly upon his majeſty: ſeveral others roſe up, and would have entered into the reaſonings and conſequences of it, but the king would not hear them, and ſo all debate ended. After which I roſe and told the king, That as to the reſolution he had taken, I would ſay nothing, becauſe he was reſolved to hear no reaſoning upon it; therefore I would only preſume to offer him my humble advice as to the courſe of his future proceedings; which was, that his majeſty in his affairs would pleaſe to make uſe of ſome council or other, and allow freedom to their debates and advices; after hearing which, his majeſty might yet reſolve as he pleaſed: that if he did not think the perſons or number of this preſent council ſuited with his affairs, it was in his power to diſſolve them, and conſtitute another of twenty, of ten, or of five, or any number he pleaſed, and to alter them again when he would; but to make counſellors that ſhould not counſel, I doubted whether it were in his majeſty's power or no, becauſe it implied a contradiction; and, ſo far as I had obſerved either of former ages or the preſent, I queſtioned whether it was a thing had been practiſed in England by his majeſty's predeceſſors, or were ſo now by any of the preſent princes of Chriſtendom: and therefore I humbly adviſed him to conſtitute ſome ſuch council, as he would think fit to make uſe of in the digeſtion of his great and public affairs.

His majeſty heard me very graciouſly, and ſeemed not at all diſpleaſed with any thing I had ſaid; nor any other perſon of the lords of the council, but moſt very much to approve it: yet, after the council was up,

up, my lord Sunderland came to me, told me, he was never ſo ſurpriſed as at what I had ſaid, and expected it ſooner from any man in England than me: that whatever reſolutions had been taken about my buſineſs in the treaſury, he was ſure nothing ſhould be done. I replied, that, if he liked not what I ſaid, he ſhould have prevented it, by telling me, before I came to council, what was intended to be done; which if I had known, I would not have been there, no more than I had been ſo long before: and that, if my debt would not be paid, I muſt live the beſt I could without it.

Not long before, the prince of Orange writ me word, how much he found the duke unſatisfied with me, upon the belief that it was I had given the prince thoſe impreſſions and ſentiments which he had upon the common affairs of Chriſtendom; whereas, he could ſay on the contrary, that it was he had given me mine, and ſhould never change his own till he were convinced *d'avoir tort* [of being in the wrong:] however, that he thought fit out of friendſhip to me, to give me this advice.

I was now in a poſture to be admirably pleaſed with having no part in public affairs: The duke unſatisfied with me of late; the duke of Monmouth and lord Shafteſbury from the very firſt; lord Eſſex and Hallifax out of all commerce with me upon what had paſſed; great civility from the other miniſters, but no communication; and the king himſelf, though very gracious, yet very reſerved. Upon all this, and the melancholy proſpect of our diſtractions at home, and thereupon the diſaſters threatening abroad: but chiefly upon my own native humour, born for a private life, and particular converſation or general leiſure; I reſolved to give over all part in public affairs, and came no more either to court or council in a month's time, which I ſpent chiefly in the country.

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In this time the lord Ruſſel, lord * Cavendiſh, Sir H. Capel, and Mr. Powle, diſtaſted at the late prorogation, as well as at the manner of it, and pretending to deſpair of being able to ſerve the king any longer, in a conduct of affairs ſo diſagreeable to the general humour of the people; went to the king together, and deſired his majeſty to excuſe their attendance any more upon him at council, which the king very eaſily conſented to. Lord Saliſbury, lord Eſſex, and lord Hallifax ſeemed to have taken the ſame reſolution, though not in ſo much form. Upon which I thought it might be a great prejudice to his majeſty's affairs, to be left by ſo many at once: and that, if I wholly gave over at the ſame time, it would look like entering into a faction with perſons who were only diſpleaſed with the preſent ſcene upon hopes of entering ſoon upon another, which was no part of my thoughts or deſigns. Therefore I reſolved to go again to council, to ſhew I had not herded with thoſe that had left it; and that my leaving it too might not occaſion ſome mens greater diſtaſtes at the government.

In the intermiſſion I had made, my wife, continuing her commerce with my lady Sunderland, had met my lord there; who, taking no notice of what had paſſed between us, aſked her how I had proceeded in my buſineſs of the treaſury, and whether I needed his help, which he offered with great friendlineſs if I had occaſion. When I came up to town, and went the firſt time to council; after it was done, I went to lord Sunderland, told him what regards towards his majeſty had made me come up, and gave him thanks for his offers to my wife: I found him returned to his firſt temper towards me; entered into common affairs, but always with profeſſions of my reſolutions to retire, and my thoughts of a journey into Italy, which I had long promiſed the great duke. I lived on with my lord Sunderland in

* Afterwards duke of Devonſhire.

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all kindneſs, though not confidence, which was now wholly between him, and Mr. Hide, and Mr. Godolphin. I made uſe of his offers, and by his help came to an iſſue in the moſt difficult point of my buſineſs in the treaſury.

The ſecond time I was at council, after my return from Sheen, my lord Sunderland told me he was to ſay ſomething to me from the king, and deſired we might meet after council was up. I went to his lodgings; where he told me that Mr. ſecretary Coventry being abſolutely reſolved to part with his place, and the king, having found I had long declined it, had now thoughts of conſenting to Sir Lionel Jenkin's coming into it upon a bargain with the ſecretary; but that the king would do nothing in it without firſt letting me know his thoughts; and aſked whether I had any thing to ſay upon it. I made no ſtop in the world, but told his lordſhip that the king could do nothing for me that I would take kinder than this; that I had ſeveral times preſſed his majeſty to a new choice, and once offered to name ſome to him that I knew were fit for it; that I had reſolved againſt it ſo long, that his majeſty had no reaſon to remember any of his engagements to me, how voluntary ſoever; but, that he was pleaſed to do it, was the moſt obliging in the world; and I was reſolved immediately to go and make him my acknowledgments. I did ſo; they were extremely well taken, the king uſed me with great kindneſs; and Sir Lionel Jenkins came into the office.

I paſſed the winter in town, though with much indiſpoſition; going ſometimes to the council, and ſometimes to the foreign committee, but not frequently to either, and meddling very little with any thing that paſſed there; unleſs it was what concerned the affairs of Ireland, which happened to be then hot upon the anvil; the duke of Ormond and council of that kingdom having tranſmitted ſeveral acts over to the council here,

here, both of grace and ſupplies, in order to a parliament to be held in Ireland. This brought lord Eſſex again into play, after ſo much diſcontent and ſo little attendance for ſeveral months at council: but his eye and heart had ever been bent upon his return to the government of Ireland; which made him ſteer all by that compaſs, and purſue court or popular humour, as he thought either likelieſt to further that end. Whenever the Iriſh acts came into council, he was ſure to be there; firſt raiſing twenty difficulties in the particular acts, and arrainging not only the prudence, but common ſenſe, of the lord-lieutenant and council there: then arguing againſt the aſſembling a parliament in that kingdom; and at laſt introducing Sir James Sheen to make propoſals of increaſing the king's revenue there near eighty thouſand pounds a year upon a new farm to himſelf and the company he offered to be joined with him: a farm indeed, as it was drawn up, not of the revenue, but of the crown of Ireland.

This ſcheme was ever ſupported by lord Eſſex; and ever oppoſed by me with more ſharpneſs than was uſual to me upon any debates; becauſe I had found out the cheat of the whole thing, which lord Eſſex had ſet on foot as a great maſter-piece of that cunning, which his friends uſed to ſay was his talent, and was one for which of all other talents I had ever the greateſt averſion. The ſhort of this ſtory was, lord Eſſex had a mind to be lieutenant of Ireland, and to hinder any parliament being called till he came to the government. He ſaw himſelf out at court; and the hopes of getting in by his intereſt in parliament, now delayed by the prorogation longer than he could ſtay: he projects this farm with Sir James Sheen, and by him offers it to Mr. Hyde, with the advantages mentioned to the king's revenue; but agrees with Sir James, that, if the bait were ſwallowed, he ſhould, upon the concluſion of all, declare that he and his company were ready

ready to perform all the conditions agreed on; but could not do it unless my lord Essex might be sent over lieutenant of Ireland; without which the condition of that kingdom could never be settled enough for such advantages to the king's service and revenue.

This I knew under secrecy from a confident of Sir James Sheen, who had told himself this whole project, and the paces intended.

Mr. Hyde, who was at the head of all matters concerning the King's revenue, had received this new proposal, and embraced it very warmly; whether prevailed upon by the specious shew of so great increases in the revenue, or by some new measures growing between him and lord Essex in other affairs, I never could determine; but such a patronage at council gave strength to the debates, being little opposed but by Sir Lionel Jenkins and me, who laid the matter so bare, that it drew out into length that whole spring; and the king joined wholly with me in the opinion of the thing, and so far, that when it was come to council or committee, his majesty sent particularly to me to be there.

In the midst of these agitations, the duke came over out of Flanders, and resolution was taken for his going into Scotland. I was extremely concerned for the duke of Ormond, who had fallen into danger of the consequences threatened by these intrigues and pursuits after the most sensible blow that could be given him, by the death of his * son; and was both of an age and merits to expect no more reverses of fortune, after so many as he had run through in the course of his loyalty. I saw Mr. Hyde violently bent upon Sir James Sheen's imaginary project, and, I doubted, with some pique to the duke of Ormond, and partiality to lord Essex. The king seemed to grow weary of so much pursuit; and lord Sunderland was indifferent in the

* The Earl of Ossory.

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thing: ſo that I reſolved to try if I could not engage the duke to ſupport the duke of Ormond; and the ſecond time I was with his highneſs, after his coming to court, I fell into this whole buſineſs and the conſequences of it, and laid open the ſecret of the thing. The duke ſeemed very favourable to lord Eſſex, and more indifferent to the duke of Ormond, than I expected; which made me fall very freely into the character of them both, which the duke ſeemed at laſt to allow with the diſtinction they deſerved, and profeſſed to deſire the duke of Ormond ſhould be continued; tho', if he were removed at any time, he ſtill ſeemed to think lord Eſſex the fitteſt to ſucceed him. But I found, ſome days after, by Sir Lionel Jenkins, that his highneſs had been very glad to find me ſo fixed in that buſineſs to the duke of Ormond, and that he would give him what ſupport he could.

Upon the motions of this affair, I grew into more attendance upon his majeſty, and more commerce both with lord Sunderland and Mr. Hyde; with whom I always lived very well, though we differed ſo much in opinion upon this Iriſh buſineſs. But continuing ſtill my reſolutions of winding myſelf out of all public buſineſs; and to that end talking often to them of my deſign to make a journey to Florence, both upon occaſion of my health and promiſe; they both propoſed to me, if I had a mind to go into a hot country, to go into Spain, and do it with a character from the king, who was likely to have affairs there; rather than make a journey like young gentlemen, only to ſee the country. I told them how unwilling I was to charge myſelf again with the ceremonies and fatigue of an embaſſy; or to run again the hazard I had done ſo often already, of being undone by thoſe employments: that, if I could reſolve on it, I did not ſee what affairs the king could have in Spain, whilſt he had ſuch as he ſeemed to have at preſent in England; nor could I ſee what

what uſe any leagues or meaſures abroad could be to him, unleſs ſome union at home would enable him to ſupport them. This converſation, however, was often renewed between us; and at laſt, I found out, that to prepare for a good ſeſſion of parliament next winter, the miniſters were reſolved upon all meaſures that might conduce towards it during the ſummer; and, as one of the chief, were reſolved to ſend miniſters to Spain, Denmark, and other of the confederates, and enter with them into the ſtricteſt meaſures for the common defence againſt the power of France.

I found the miniſters were mighty earneſt to engage me in this embaſſy, as believing my charging myſelf with it would give a general opinion, both at home and abroad, of our ſincerity in the thing. The king ſpoke to me, and ſeemed very deſirous of my undertaking it. I defended myſelf a good while, having indeed no opinion the thing had a good root, or that the appearance of it would have the effect hoped for, upon the next meeting of parliament: but at laſt I brought it to this point, that I would not charge myſelf with going to make the intended alliance in Spain; but, if the king ſhould think fit to conclude it here with the Spaniſh ambaſſador upon terms of mutual ſatisfaction, I would be content to go and cultivate it in Spain. This was done by the miniſters; the king declared me his ambaſſador extraordinary at Madrid; I paſſed my privy-ſeal, received my equipage, and ſpent the latter end of the ſummer in the preparations for my journey, which were in a manner finiſhed about the middle of September; when the king told me, that ſince the parliament drew ſo near, and ſo much depended upon it of all that concerned him either abroad or at home, he was reſolved to have me ſtay at leaſt the opening of it, by which we ſhould judge of the further progreſs.

From what ſeeds the diſcontents and violent proceedings of this laſt ſeſſion grew, I have told already; but by what motions and degrees they came to ſuch a height is another ſtory, and may have had ſome roots which I did not diſcover; but what I obſerved was this. After the duke's return into Flanders, he had the king's leave to come over again in ſome months. The duke of Monmouth came back out of Holland without leave, and ſo came not to court; and thereby ſeemed to make himſelf the head of thoſe that were diſcontented, either with the duke's return, or the intermiſſion of parliament. In acting this part he was guided by lord Shafteſbury, who reſolved to blow up the fire as high as he could this ſummer; ſo as to make the neceſſity the greater of the parliament ſitting at the time appointed. And, becauſe boldneſs looks like ſtrength, to encourage his party with an opinion of both, he engaged ſeveral lords, and among them lord Ruſſel, to go with him to Weſtminſter-Hall publickly, and there, at the king's bench, to preſent the duke as a recuſant. Though the matter had no conſequences in the forms of the court; yet it had a general one upon the minds of the people, and a ſtrong one upon the paſſions of all thoſe perſons that were ſo publickly engaged in this bold pace againſt the duke, which was breaking all meaſures with him, and entering into the deſperate reſolution of either ruining his highneſs or themſelves: and I found it had a great effect upon the ſmall circle of my acquaintance or obſervation.

Lord Eſſex, who had purſued his return to the government of Ireland by engines at court for ſix months paſt, began to let all that buſineſs of Sir James Sheen cool, and to reckon upon laying a ſurer foundation for that deſign, from the credit he intended to gain in the approaching parliament. Upon this he began to fall into new commerce with lord Shafteſbury, who told him in theſe ſhameleſs words, "My lord, if "you

" you will come in to us, never trouble yourſelf, we'll " make you lieutenant of Ireland." The way to this return was to oppoſe the duke's ſtay here upon the ſeveral paſſages he made, but chiefly upon that before the ſeſſion of parliament. Lord Hallifax, though he fell not in with lord Shafteſbury, yet was glad to make fair weather againſt the parliament met, by his oppoſitions to the duke. Lord Sunderland was ſtruck with the boldneſs of the lords preſentment in Weſtminſter-Hall, and the conſequence of ſuch men being ſo deſperately engaged in an attempt wherein they were like to be ſeconded by the humour of the nation, upon the alarms of popery; which made him conclude, the king would not be able to ſupport the duke any longer, but would be forced to ſeparate his intereſts from him at laſt: and he believed the king himſelf was of the ſame mind. Mr. Godolphin fell into the ſame thoughts with lord Sunderland, both of the thing itſelf, and of the king's mind in it: ſo as upon the debate in council, concerning the duke's ſtay or going back into Scotland before the parliament met, theſe four joined abſolutely in the reaſons and advices for his going away; and though the reſt of the council were generally of the contrary opinion, yet the king fell in with theſe four, and concluded the thing, againſt the duke's will and his friends, as I have been told: for during all theſe tranſactions I was in the country, with my thoughts and preparations wholly turned upon my Spaniſh embaſſy; and I was the willinger to be there, upon the reſolution I had long been fixed in, never to enter into any differences or perſonal matters between the king and his brother.

The duke went away, and the parliament began, with the general knowledge, of ſo many great perſons having appeared ſo publickly againſt his highneſs in Weſtminſter-Hall, and ſo conſiderable ones in the court itſelf and at the council-table: thoſe of the firſt gang

fell immediately into the cabals of lords and commons who framed the bill of exclusion; wherein they were desperately engaged, not only, as they professed, upon opinion of national ends, but likewise upon that of self-preservation, having broken irreparably all measures already with the duke: the generality of the house of commons were carried, partly with the plausibleness of the thing, calculated in appearance only against popery, without any private ends as was pretended; and partly with the opinion of the king's resolution to fall into it, upon the observation of such lords of the court having engaged so far in sending away the duke. All the duke of Monmouth's friends drove it on violently; not doubting he would lie in the duke's place, though no provision seemed to be made for that in the forms of the draught: and all these circumstances concurring, made so violent a torrent for carrying on this bill, as nothing could resist, or any ways divert; and as it happens upon all occasions, the small opposition, made by two or three men, made the violence the greater.

Besides these general circumstances, there were two more particular and personal, that seemed to me to have great influence upon the house: one was lord Russel setting himself, almost with affectation, at the head of this affair; who was a person in general repute of an honest worthy gentleman, without tricks or private ambition, and who was known to venture as great a stake perhaps as any subject of England. The other was Sir William Jones entering upon it so abruptly and so desperately as he did, if I mistake not, the first day he came into the house (at least I have been told so, for I was not there) which was some time after the session began, having been engaged in a disputed election. And this person having the name of the greatest lawyer of England, and commonly of a very wise man; besides this, of a very rich, and of a

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wary or rather timorous nature; made people generally conclude that the thing was certain and safe, and would at last be agreed on all parts, whatever countenance were made at court.

The bill passed the house of commons, and was carried up by lord Russel to the house of lords; as I think, for I was not there at the house. But, in the house of lords, it met with another kind of reception. The king was resolved, and declared against the bill: and though lord Shaftesbury, lord Essex, and, as I remember, about fifteen more, were violently for it; yet the rest of the house were firm and positive against it; among whom lord Hallifax appeared most in the head of all debates; and so it was, after long contest, absolutely thrown out. This enraged the house of commons; and, having failed of the only thing they seemed to have at heart, made them fall upon persons; engage first in the pursuit of lord Stafford to the block, upon the score of the plot; and then in addresses, either upon general discontents in the publick affairs, or upon common fame against particular men.

During the whole proceedings of this session of parliament, I played a part very impertinent for a man that had any designs or ambitions about him; but for me who had none (and whose head was fixed either upon my embassy into Spain, or upon my absolute retirement) the only one wherein I could have satisfied myself. As I never entered into publick business by my own choice or pursuit, but always called into it by the king, or his ministers; so I never made the common use of it, by ever asking either money, lands, or honour of his majesty; though I have been often enough urged to it by my friends, and invited by so great degrees of confidence and favour, as I have stood in with his majesty both often and long. I never had my heart set upon any thing in publick affairs, but the happiness of my country, and greatness of the crown:

and, in order to that, the union of both, by which alone I thought both could be atchieved. When I fell firſt into deſpair of this, I fell firſt into a diſtaſte of all publick affairs; which has been nouriſhed by a courſe of ſuch accidents and turns of court, and perſonal inconſtancies or infidelities, as I have related. By what means I came to be ſo long engaged, as to ſee this ſeſſion of parliament, I have told; but it is not to be told, the vexation and trouble which the courſe of it gave me. I knew very well, that all the ſafety of Flanders and Holland depended upon the union of his majeſty with his parliament, which might enable him to make ſuch a figure in Chriſtendom, as the crown of England has done, and ought always to do. The Dutch had ſent over monſieur Van Lewen to make both court and country ſenſible of this neceſſity that Chriſtendom was in; and how much all would lie at the mercy of France, from the day they ſaw the hopes of it fail. The houſe of commons met, with ſuch a bent upon what they thought the chief of their home concerns, that the name of any thing foreign would not be allowed among them; nay, the mention of Spaniſh leagues, alliances with Holland, and meaſures intended by the king with other confederates, were laughed at, as court-tricks, and too ſtale to paſs any more. They fell downright upon a point invincible, which was the bill of excluſion; and in default of that, upon heats againſt the government and the miniſters, not without ſome glancing at the king. This was returned with heats at court by thoſe miniſters that were chiefly touched; which were lord Hallifax, who, by a ſudden turn, whereof I know no account, had at the beginning of the ſeſſion fallen into the open defence of the duke's intereſts; and Mr. Hyde, who, by his relation to the duke, and by his education wholly at court, was ever reckoned upon, as well as found to be, firſt in that point. Though I did not find by them,

them, that they thought it would be to much purpoſe; only they promiſed to agree with the king upon the draught of ſome expedients in the caſe, which lord Hallifax had charged himſelf with, and ſhould be charged with to the houſe of lords, during the heats of the commons.

For my own part, ſo ſoon as I ſaw the bent of the houſe of commons, the violence with which it was carried, and the diſtractions it was like to engage the kingdom in, at a time they were ſo little in ſeaſon; I gave over firſt all hopes, and then all thoughts upon ſo unpleaſant a theme. In the buſineſs of the bill I never meddled, nor ſo much as reaſoned either in or out of the houſe; having declared my opinion to the king and his miniſters, that it was to no purpoſe to oppoſe it there; nor for the king to take notice of the commons addreſs upon it, further than to let them know, that whenever any bills, or any addreſſes upon things of that nature, were brought to him from both houſes, he would anſwer them. By this means I thought the king was ſure of his end; for the bill would certainly fall as often as it came into the houſe of lords; and, if he ſhould be forced to break the parliament, it would be better done upon invincible difference between the two houſes, than upon any between his majeſty and the houſe of commons. But this opinion was not agreed to by the chief miniſters. After that, I preſſed both the king and them to bring ſuch expedients as they told me were reſolved on; that ſo we might make all the ſtrength we could to ſupport them in the houſe of commons, and thereby reduce things to ſome temper; but theſe, though daily talked of, never appeared. I went not often, either to the houſe or council; but when I did, and thought it to any purpoſe, I endeavoured to allay the heats on either ſide; and told the king I expected to be turned out of the houſe in the morning, and out of the council

in the afternoon. Mr. Hyde asked me one day in the council-chamber, why I came so seldom to the house or council; I told him, 'twas upon Solomon's advice, neither to oppose the mighty, nor go about to stop the current of a river: upon which he said, I was a wise a and quiet man; and, if it were not for some circumstances he could not help, he would do so too.

I do not remember to have spoken in the house, but upon the motion of supplies for Tangier*; upon the digestion of the first address about general grievances; and in the cases of my lord chief-justice North, and my lord Hallifax being impeached upon common fame: nor at any general councils, unless it were upon the house of commons address against lord Hallifax, and upon a debate about dissolving the parliament; wherein I desired the king and council never to lay aside the thoughts and endeavours of agreeing either with this or some other parliament, as a matter of so great necessity to the state of his majesty's affairs both abroad and at home. Lord Hallifax answered me in few words, that every body was sensible of the necessity of the king's agreeing with his parliaments, though not with this: and † Mr. Seymour told me, he perfectly agreed with me in what I had said. The last thing I did, in house or council, was to carry the king's last answer to the commons, containing his resolutions never to consent to the exclusion of the duke; ‡ which secretary Jenkins had been charged with the night before at council: but he was thought too unacceptable to the house, it seems, for a message that was like to prove so; and next morning the king would have had Sir Robert Carr, or Mr. Godolphin have carried it, but they both excused themselves; upon which the king sent for me.

* See the Appendix.

‡ See the Appendix.

† Afterwards Sir E. Seymour.

I told

I told his majesty, I did not very well understand why a thing, agreed upon last night at council-table, should be altered in his chamber; but that I was very willing however to obey him, and the rather upon others having excused themselves, and to shew his majesty that I intended to play no popular games: upon which I took the paper, and told the king that I was very sensible how much of his confidence I formerly had, and how much I had lost, without knowing the occasion; or else I might have had part in the consulting this change of what was last night resolved, as well as in executing it; and I would confess to his majesty, that I had not so good a stomach in business, as to be content only with swallowing what other people had chewed. Upon which I went away and carried my message to the house, which was received just as was expected. I tell this passage freely, as I do all the rest; as the only thing I could imagine the king could ever take ill of me; and yet I know not how it could be a fault, more than in a point of manners neither, or the homelineſs of expression.

That, which completed my resolution of recess from all publick business, was to find, as I thought, very plainly, that both parties, who could agree in nothing else, yet did it in this one point, of bringing things to the last extremity. Lord Shaftesbury and his party thought the points of popular discontents and petitions, or at least that of the king's wants, would at last bring the court to their mercy in one parliament or other. Those ministers, who were past all measures with the house of commons, thought there was no way, but by their heats, to bring the king to a dislike, and thereby to a disuse of parliaments. And by this likewise the duke's interest seemed at present only to be secured. So that, where both parties consented in dividing to extremity on each side, no man could think any longer of uniting; nor consequently

quently to see the crown in such a posture as I had ever wished it, and for our neighbours sakes as well as our own.

I found this yet more evident at the last debates, during my assistance at the foreign committee, concerning the answer his majesty should return to the repeated addresses of the house of commons, relating to the bill of exclusion. I was of opinion it should be, that, when both houses agreed upon an address to this purpose, he would give them an answer; but till then would suspend it, and not send a positive answer to one house upon so weighty an occasion, which for aught he knew might be contrary to the sense of the other. By this means he would be secure from the necessity of any direct breach with the commons; since he knew well enough, the lords would not consent to the address. And, if the parliament came to be dissolved, it were better for the king it should break upon differences between the two houses, than between his majesty and them. For this would give the nation an opinion, that he was resolved to live without parliaments hereafter; which might endanger perhaps our peace at home, but would however ruin the hopes of our neighbours abroad, who had no other of defending themselves against France, but by the power of England: that, if this parliament broke upon disputes or differences between the two houses, it might yet be expected he would call another, and perhaps a third, and agree with some of them, by which alone he could be great and safe both at home and abroad. For it was between the king and his parliament, as between the mountain and Mahomet, who told the people what miracles he would do when he was at the top of the mountain; and to that purpose he would on such a day call it to him: he did so, but the mountain would not come; whereupon he said, that, if the mountain would not come to Mahomet, he would go

to

to the mountain; for unleſs they both met, no wonders could be done. The king ſeemed pleaſed with all I ſaid, and with the compariſon; but thoſe of the committee, that were chief in the private meaſures taken at this time, were for a poſitive anſwer to be given the houſe of commons, let them take it how they pleaſed; and accordingly this was reſolved.

However, all theſe conſiderations or intereſts could not move the king to diſſolve this parliament, without calling another at the ſame time to meet at Oxford in the ſpring. Whereupon, the heads of the univerſity at Cambridge ſent to me, to know whether I intended to ſtand again for that election: I went to the king to acquaint him with it, and know his pleaſure what anſwer I ſhould return them: he ſeemed at firſt indifferent, and bid me do what I would: but when I ſaid I was very indifferent too, and would do in it what his majeſty liked beſt; he ſaid, in a manner kind and familiar, that, conſidering how things ſtood at this time, he doubted my coming into the houſe would not be able to do much good; and therefore he thought it as well for me to let it alone; which I ſaid I would do.

When I left the king I went to my lord Sunderland, and told him what had paſſed; who took this as the firſt certain ſign of his majeſty's having fixed his reſolution, and left off all thoughts of agreeing with his parliaments, and of his having taken his meaſures another way, for the ſupply of his treaſures in the ill condition they were in. He knew very well, that, during the laſt ſeſſion, the king had always told me, that he was reſolved to propoſe ſome expedients to the houſes upon which he had hopes they might agree: that he had ordered lord Hallifax to draw them up, and had bid me reſerve my credit in the houſe for that occaſion: and that, if there were any thoughts of agreeing with the next parliament, the king, he was ſure,

would

would have been glad to have had me in the houſe. He ſaid upon it, in ſome paſſion, that he now gave all for gone, and that he muſt confeſs I knew the king better than he had done; and ſo we parted.

Within few days employed wholly in my domeſtick concerns, and in order to the remove I intended, I left the town and went to Sheen: from whence I ſent the king word by my ſon, that I would paſs the reſt of my life like as good a ſubject as any he had; but that I would never meddle any more with any publick affairs; and deſired his majeſty would not be diſpleaſed with this reſolution. The king very graciouſly bid him tell me, that he was not angry with me, no not at all.

I had not been above a week at Sheen, when my lady Northumberland (who lived then at Sion) came to my cloſet one morning, and told me, that, the day before, my lord Sunderland, my lord Eſſex's names, and mine, were ſtruck out of the council; which was the firſt word I heard of any ſuch thing; and upon which I neither made any reflections, nor enquiries; though many others ſeemed much to wonder, and enquired of me what could be the reaſon of my being joined with the other two lords whoſe proceedings had been very different.

My lord Sunderland was, during the late ſeſſion of parliament, fallen under a great diſpleaſure of his majeſty; and into an outrageous quarrel with lord Hallifax. The laſt happened, not only upon their dividing in the buſineſſes of the parliament and council, but likewiſe upon lord Sunderland's entering into new commerce and meaſures with lord Shafteſbury; as my lord Hallifax told me, and which I ſhould not have otherwiſe known; for, if there were any ſuch commerce, lord Sunderland had made it a ſecret to me; as knowing too well the averſion I always had for that lord, and the whole courſe of his proceedings in all publick

publick affairs. But lord Sunderland told me another reaſon of the quarrel between him and lord Hallifax; which, he ſaid, broke out the ſame night a debate aroſe at council concerning an addreſs of the houſe of commons againſt lord Hallifax, wherein lord Sunderland had been of opinion, the king ſhould not yield to it. But, after council, lord Hallifax went to lord Sunderland's lodgings, where they fell into diſcourſe of what had paſſed; and lord Sunderland told him, that though he had given his opinion at council as he thought became him; yet, if ſuch an addreſs ſhould ever be made againſt himſelf, he would certainly deſire leave of the king to retire, as a thing that would be for his ſervice. Upon this lord Hallifax fell into ſuch a paſſion, that he went out of the room, and from that time they hardly lived in any common civility where they met.

The refiners thought lord Hallifax, who ſaw himſelf topped by lord Sunderland's credit and ſtation at court, reſolved to make this ſudden turn of falling in with the king, upon the point then in debate about the bill of excluſion, wherein he found the king ſteady, and that my lord Sunderland would loſe himſelf; ſo that, falling into confidence with the king upon ſuch a turn, he ſhould be alone chief in the miniſtry, without competitor. At leaſt the reaſoners on this matter could find no other ground for ſuch a change in lord Hallifax's courſe, after what he had ſo long ſteered, and ſo lately in having been the chief promoter of the duke's being ſent away to Scotland juſt before the meeting of the parliament.

The king's quarrels to my lord Sunderland, as far as I could obſerve, were chiefly two: firſt, his voting in the lords houſe for the bill of excluſion, not only againſt the king's mind, but againſt his expreſs command; which, for a perſon actually in his ſervice, and in ſuch a poſt as ſecretary of ſtate, ſeemed ſomething extraordinary.

extraordinary. And I remember, when I ſpoke to him of it, as what the king muſt reſent, and what I was confident he would be ſteady in, he told me 'twas too late, for his honour was engaged, and he could not break it. The other was a memorial, ſent over by Mr. Sidney the king's envoy at the Hague, and given him by the penſioner Fagel, repreſenting the ſad conſequences abroad, of his majeſty's not agreeing with his parliaments; the danger of his allies, and of the proteſtant religion; and thereupon, though not directly, yet ſeeming to wiſh that the king would not break with them, though it were even upon the point of the bill of excluſion. This was, as I remember, the ſubſtance; for I never heard a word of it, either before or after its being received at the foreign committee; where I was as much ſurpriſed at it as any one there, but had not the ſame thoughts of it's original, as I find ſome other of the lords had. For they believed it a thing directed and adviſed from hence; and, in a word, by lord Sunderland to Mr. Sidney his uncle, as a matter that would be of weight to induce the king to paſs the bill. But beſides that, lord Sunderland proteſted to me, after council, that he knew nothing of it till he received a copy from Mr. Sidney, who ſent the original to the other ſecretary. I thought he could not underſtand the king ſo ill, as to believe, that would be a motive to him to paſs the bill, or that it could have any other effect than to anger him at the Dutch, for meddling in a matter that was domeſtick, not only to the nation, but to the crown. Beſides, I obſerved the ſtyle to be of one that underſtood little of our conſtitution, by ſeveral expreſſions in the paper; whereof one was, why the king ſhould not prevent ſuch conſequences, when he might do it *par un trait de plume* [by a ſtroke with a pen;] which ſhewed, the author thought our acts of parliament had been paſſed by the king's ſigning them.

This,

This, and the whole caſt of it, made me believe it certainly came from the penſioner Fagel; a man of great piety and zeal in his religion, mightily concerned for all he thought would endanger it; and beſides, of great warmth and ſuddenneſs in purſuing any thought that poſſeſſed him. However, the king, as well as ſome of the committee, believed, this was of my lord Sunderland's forge; and that many of the heats in the houſe of commons had been encouraged and raiſed to ſuch height by his ſeeming to favour them; which, they might think, he would not do unleſs he believed the king would at length comply with them.

Theſe, I ſuppoſe, were the reaſons of the reſolution taken at court to remove lord Sunderland, both from the ſecretary's office and the council. What made my lord Eſſex be joined with him is a great deal more obvious; having ever ſince meeting of the parliament run up in the greateſt heights and neareſt meaſures with the duke of Monmouth and lord Shafteſbury, both in the bill of excluſion, and all other matters where he intervened, either in debates of parliament or of council; either concerning the bill, or ſeveral addreſſes againſt miniſters. How I came to be joined with theſe two lords, by the king's ordering our names to be ſtruck out of the council-book at the ſame time, I neither know, nor could ever give any reaſon, unleſs it were, what was commonly gueſſed, of my being a friend of the prince of Orange, or of my lord Sunderland, with whom I had a very long acquaintance, and of our families, as well as perſonal. For the firſt, I could think it no crime, conſidering how little that prince had ever meddled, at leaſt to my knowledge, in any domeſtick concerns of his majeſty, during all that paſſed ſince the firſt heats in parliament here, though he had been extremely ſenſible of the conſequences they were like to have upon all his intereſts, and neareſt concerns at home; which were, the preſervation

tion of Flanders from the French conqueſt, and thereby of Holland from falling by ſudden treaties into an abſolute dependance upon that crown.

I can give no other reaſon, unleſs it were, that as my lord Saliſbury had been ſtruck out ſome days before, upon his having declared at council, that he would come there no more; ſo his majeſty and his miniſters might think, that upon my having taken the ſame reſolution as to that, and all publick affairs, though ſignified only in private to his majeſty, and with all the good manners that could be; yet it would be better for the king's affairs, that I ſhould be known to be put out of the council than to have quitted it of myſelf.

Nor was this reſolution of mine taken in any heat, or raſhly, but upon the beſt conſiderations and knowledge I had gained, both of the world, and of myſelf: by which I found, as Sancho did by governing his iſland, that he was not fit to govern any thing but his ſheep: ſo, by ſerving long in courts, or publick affairs, I diſcovered plainly, that I was, at my age, and in the preſent conjunctures, fit for neither one nor t'other.

I conſidered the world in the preſent poſture of affairs both abroad and at home: I knew very well the great deſigns of France, whereof the plan was drawn by cardinal Richelieu, for the conqueſt of Flanders, and that part of Germany which lies on this ſide of the Rhine: how, upon this view he had ſeized Lorrain, and engaged in a war with Spain: how he practiſed the Dutch into a treaty for the diviſion of Flanders between them, till the States ſoon found the falſe pace they had made by an agreement to ſhare with the lion, who thereupon would be ſoon maſter, both of the prey and of them. Hereupon they broke off this confederacy on the ſudden, quitted the French in the midſt of ſo great ſucceſs, and had hereby almoſt occaſioned

caſioned the ruin of the French army at Tirlemont. I knew by tradition from a noble family, how that cardinal had ſent a private emiſſary, to endeavour the ſame meaſures with king Charles the firſt, or at leaſt for his being paſſive in their conqueſt of Flanders. How that king had refuſed the firſt; and, being preſſed upon the other, had anſwered reſolutely, and bid him tell the cardinal, that he would never ſuffer the conqueſt of Flanders; and if the French attempted it, he would march himſelf in perſon to defend it. Upon this anſwer, the cardinal replied to the gentleman that brought it, *L'a-t'il dit? par Dieu il me le payera bien*, [Did he ſay ſo? by G—d I'll make him pay dear for it]; and therefore entered immediately into practices with ſome diſcontented nobles of Scotland then at Paris; ſent over two hundred thouſand piſtoles to others in that kingdom, and gave thereby a beginning to the firſt troubles that were raiſed there. From which time, the buſineſs of France has ever been to foment all diviſions of England, whoſe intereſt they ſaw would be ever to croſs their great deſign. However, cardinal Mazarin, after having ſurmounted his own dangers in France, and the difficulties incident to a minority; purſued the plan left him by his predeceſſor: and by his meaſures taken with Cromwell, and the aſſiſtance of an immortal body of ſix thouſand brave Engliſh, which were by agreement to be continually recruited, he made ſuch a progreſs in Flanders, that Cromwell ſoon found the balance turned, and grown too heavy on the French ſide: whereupon he diſpatched a gentleman privately to Madrid, to propoſe there a change of his treaty with France into one with Spain, by which he would draw his forces over into their ſervice, and make them ten thouſand to be continually recruited, upon condition their firſt action ſhould be to beſiege Calais, and, when taken, to put it into his hands. The gentleman ſent upon this errand was

paſt the Pyrenees when he was overtaken by the news of Cromwell's death; whereupon Mazarin, having not only loſt his ſtrongeſt ſupport in Flanders, but obſerved how that deſign would never be ſerved by any meaſures he could take in England, however it ſhould be governed, by the moſt legal or moſt uſurped powers, he reſolved upon a peace with Spain; and made it at the Pyrenees, againſt the general ſenſe, both of the chief perſons in the court and the army, but particularly againſt the inſtances of monſieur de Turenne, who engaged himſelf to conquer all that was left of Flanders in two campaigns more: but ſome domeſtic reaſons prevailed with the cardinal; beſides his age and great infirmities, which ended his life not long after the peace was made.

The preſent king, left in full peace with all his neighbours, in the flower of his youth, and inſtructed in the ſchool of ſo able a miniſter, began to purſue the great deſign, by the three paces moſt neceſſary to advance it; which were, the wiſe management of his revenue, and heaping up a maſs of treaſure: the increaſe of his naval force, by building many great ſhips, and buying others from the Dutch; and by the purchaſe of Dunkirk in the year 1662, without which he could not have aſpired to the conqueſt of Flanders, or to his greatneſs at ſea; having no other haven upon the channel: after this, by fomenting on both ſides the ſeeds of diſſenſion between us and the Dutch, which were ſprung from other covered roots. He ſaw us engaged in a war with Holland in 1665, and with ſuch honour and ſucceſſes, that the Dutch would ſoon have been forced to a peace, had not France firſt aſſiſted them at land, againſt the biſhop of Munſter; and then declared war againſt us, and ſet out his fleet for aſſiſting the Dutch. This made the war more equally ballanced, and thereby laſt till France, taking advantage at our diviſion, invaded Flanders; and, by a ſurpriſe

of

of the unprepared Spaniards, and two campaigns, carried the moſt conſiderable frontier places on both ſides; as Doway, Liſle, Tournay, on the one ſide, Charleroy and Aeth on the other; by which they left the reſt of Flanders at the mercy of another campaign. The Dutch were alarmed at theſe ſucceſſes of ſo mighty a neighbour ſo near their own doors; and we were ſpited at the French having declared war againſt us in favour of Holland, contrary to our expectations; and both together contributed to the peace at Breda in the end of the year 1667, and to our leagues with Holland with the triple alliance in 1668, for defence of the Spaniſh Netherlands. Upon our peace with Holland, France ſtopped their career in Flanders, and made overtures of peace with Spain; by the offer of an alternative, either to retain their conqueſts in Flanders, or elſe the whole county of Burgundy. We and Holland forced in Spain to accept one of them; and the Spaniards, ſpited at this hardſhip upon them from neighbours who, they thought, had as much intereſt as they to preſerve Flanders, choſe the worſt, which was to leave the frontiers of Flanders in the French hands, on purpoſe to give us and Holland the greater jealouſy of France, and in hopes thereby to engage us all in a war with that crown. And upon theſe terms the peace was made at Aix la Chapelle in 1668.

After this, France turned all their counſels to break the meaſures between us and Holland which gave a ſtop to their great deſign. The Dutch were ſtanch; but we gave way by the corruption of our miniſters, and the French practices upon the diſpoſitions of our court; which at length engaged us in a joint war of both crowns upon Holland in 1672, to the amazement of all men both abroad and at home, and almoſt to the utter ruin of that State; till the Empire and Spain, rouſed by the danger of Holland, which muſt have ended in that of Flanders, and all the German

provinces on this ſide the Rhine, entered boldly into the war, for the aſſiſtance of the Dutch; which gave them ſome breath, and carried the ſcene of the war into Flanders and Germany. At the ſame time, the diſcontents of the people and parliament at the war, and the neceſſity of declaring it againſt Spain as well as Holland, if we continued longer in it, prevailed with the king to make a ſeparate peace with Holland in 1673, and to offer his mediation to all the parties engaged in the war; which ended in the treaty of Nimeguen, and at laſt in a peace there, concluded in 1678: whereby a frontier was left to the Spaniſh Netherlands on the Brabant ſide, by reſtitution of Aeth and Charleroy, to ſatisfy the Dutch; but all that remained on the ſide of Flanders, after the peace of Aix, as Cambray, Air, St. Omer, with many others taken by France in the laſt war, were by this treaty left in their poſſeſſion; beſides great pretences by dependencies, both in Flanders and Alſace; ſo as Flanders was left at their mercy, whenever we or Holland ſhould abandon its defence. And, finding both nations in general but too ſenſible of our intereſt on that ſide, the councils of France began new practices upon our court, wherein they were encouraged by our factions, and the neceſſities of money, into which they had drawn the king.

Theſe were the progreſſes which France had made in their great deſign, by two wars, and two general treaties of peace; whereof that at Nimeguen ſeemed more victorious than their arms had been. But they had made another, yet more important than either, by their practices upon the elector and chapter of Cologne, having gained the majority of voices there for the ſucceſſion of prince William of Furſtemburg to that principality, whenever the preſent elector ſhould fail, who is old and infirm, and has, for ſome years paſt, deceived the world by living ſo long. Prince William,

liam, though a German, yet having long devoted himſelf to the French intereſts, and been refuged and ſupported by that crown againſt the indignation and revenge of the Emperor, is as much a Frenchman as any biſhop of that kingdom; ſo as, whenever he comes to the electorate, France will be abſolute maſter of that principality; and thereby caſt ſhackles, not only upon the other princes of the Rhine, but upon Holland too, both by cutting off their trade upon the Rhine, and by bordering upon their inland provinces, which are moſt expoſed and hard to be defended: 'tis ſaid he is likewiſe aſſured of the chapter of Liege, in favour of the ſame prince; which if true, and this principality fall likewiſe under the ſame dominion, upon the death of the preſent elector, France will then ſurround the frontiers of Brabant, and cut off all commerce, or means of defence between them and Luxemburg; that they will not have above the work of one campaign to draw the net over the reſt of Flanders, and reduce all the great cities there; after which, the reſt muſt follow, and thereby Holland be left to take what meaſures they can with France, and become at beſt a maritime province to that crown; though, perhaps, under the name of a free State (for fear of diſpeopling their country) but with ſuch dependance as will leave France the uſe both of their ſhips and money, upon occaſion, in other parts. Whenever this happens, what condition England will be left in, upon ſuch an increaſe of the French territory and land, as well as naval power, is eaſy to conjecture, but hard, how it can be prevented, otherwiſe than by our vigorous conjunction of counſels, as well as intereſts, with all the late confederates; and by a firm union between the court and the nation upon one common bottom, both at home and abroad, and chiefly for the preſervation of Flanders againſt the French deſigns.

I eaſily diſcovered how fit a poſture we were in to engage in ſuch reſolutions. The nation divided into two ſtrong factions with the greateſt heats and animoſities, and ready to break out into violence upon the firſt occaſion. The heads on both ſides deſiring it, as grown paſt all temper or compoſure. The king involved in ſuch neceſſities and diſorders of his revenue, as, if he could not hope ſupplies from parliaments, would throw him upon ſeeking them from France; which would end in ſuch meaſures with that crown, as would leave them at liberty to purſue their great deſign by new attempts upon their neighbours; who, without the ſupport of England, muſt give way either by weak defences or ſubmiſſive treaties.

Upon the ſurvey of all theſe circumſtances, conjunctures, and diſpoſitions, both at home and abroad, I concluded in cold blood, that I could be of no further uſe or ſervice to the king my maſter, and my country, whoſe true intereſts I always thought were the ſame, and would be both in danger when they came to be divided, and for that reaſon had ever endeavoured the uniting them; and had compaſſed it, if the paſſions of ſome few men had not lain fatally in the way, ſo as to raiſe difficulties that I ſaw plainly were never to be ſurmounted. Therefore, upon the whole, I took that firm reſolution, in the end of the year 1680, and the interval between the Weſtminſter and Oxford parliaments, never to charge myſelf more with any public employments; but retiring wholly to a private life, in that poſture take my fortune with my country, whatever it ſhould prove: which as no man can judge, in the variety of accidents that attend human affairs, and the chances of every day, to which the greateſt lives as well as actions are ſubject; ſo I ſhall not trouble myſelf ſo much as to conjecture: *fata viam inveniant.*

Beſides

Beſides all theſe public circumſtances, I conſidered myſelf in my own humour, temper, and diſpoſitions, which a man may diſguiſe to others, though very hardly, but cannot to himſelf. I had learned by living long in courts and public affairs, that I was fit to live no longer in either. I found the arts of a court were contrary to the frankneſs and openneſs of my nature; and the conſtraints of public buſineſs too great for the liberty of my humour and my life. The common and proper ends of both are the advancement of men's fortunes; and that I never minded, having as much as I needed, and, which is more, as I deſired. The talent of gaining riches I ever deſpiſed, as obſerving it to belong to the moſt deſpiſable men in other kinds: and I had the occaſions of it ſo often in my way, if I would have made uſe of them, that I grew to diſdain them, as a man does meat that he has always before him. Therefore, I never could go to ſervice for nothing but wages, nor endure to be fettered in buſineſs when I thought it was to no purpoſe. I knew very well the arts of a court are, to talk the preſent language, to ſerve the preſent turn, and to follow the preſent humour of the prince, whatever it is: of all theſe I found myſelf ſo incapable, that I could not talk a language I did not mean, nor ſerve a turn I did not like, nor follow any man's humour wholly againſt my own. Beſides, I have had, in twenty years experience, enough of the uncertainty of princes, the caprices of fortune, the corruption of miniſters, the violence of factions, the unſteadineſs of counſels, and the infidelity of friends; nor do I think the reſt of my life enough to make any new experiments.

For the eaſe of my own life, if I know myſelf, it will be infinitely more in the retired, than it has been in the buſy ſcene: for no good man can, with any ſatisfaction, take part in the diviſions of his country, that knows and conſiders, as I do, what they have

coſt Athens, Rome, Conſtantinople, Florence, Germany, France, and England: nor can the wiſeſt man foreſee how ours will end, or what they are like to coſt the reſt of Chriſtendom as well as ourſelves. I never had but two aims in public affairs; one, to ſee the king great as he may be by the hearts of his people, without which I know not how he can be great by the conſtitutions of this kingdom: the other, in caſe our factions muſt laſt, yet to ſee a revenue eſtabliſhed for the conſtant maintaining a fleet of fifty men of war, at ſea or in harbour, and the ſeamen in conſtant pay; which would be at leaſt our ſafety from abroad, and make the crown ſtill conſidered in any foreign alliances, whether the king and his parliaments ſhould agree or not in undertaking any great or national war. And ſuch an eſtabliſhment I was in hopes the laſt parliament at Weſtminſter might have agreed in with the king, by adding ſo much of a new fund to three hundred thouſand pounds a year out of the preſent cuſtoms. But theſe have both failed, and I am content to have failed with them.

And ſo I take leave of all thoſe airy viſions which have ſo long buſied my head about mending the world; and at the ſame time, of all thoſe ſhining toys or follies that employ the thoughts of buſy men: and ſhall turn mine wholly to mend myſelf; and, as far as conſiſts with a private condition, ſtill purſuing that old and excellent counſel of Pythagoras, that we are, with all the cares and endeavours of our lives, to avoid diſeaſes in the body, perturbations in the mind, luxury in diet, factions in the houſe, and ſeditions in the ſtate.

THE

THE

# APPENDIX.

CONTAINING

## The Pieces referred to in theſe MEMOIRS.

### A declaration relating to the eſtabliſhment of the new privy-council, mentioned page 507.

At the court at Whitehall, the 21ſt April 1679.

PRESENT,

The KING's moſt excellent MAJESTY in council.

HIS majeſty, having cauſed the privy-council to meet yeſterday extraordinary, was then pleaſed to order the lord chancellor of England to read to them the following declaration.

My LORDS,

HIS majeſty hath called you together, at this time, to communicate to you a reſolution he hath taken in a matter of great importance to his crown and government; and which, he hopes, will prove of the greateſt ſatisfaction and advantage to his kingdoms in all affairs hereafter, both at home and abroad; and therefore he doubts not of your approbation, however you may ſeem concerned in it.

In the firſt place, his majeſty gives you all thanks for your ſervice to him here, and for all the good advices you have given him; which might have been more frequent, if the great number of this council had not made it unfit for the ſecrecy and diſpatch that are neceſſary in many great affairs. This forced him to uſe a ſmaller number of you in a foreign commit-

tee, and ſometimes the advices of ſome few among them (upon ſuch occaſions) for many years paſt. He is ſorry for the ill ſucceſs he has found in this courſe, and ſenſible of the ill poſture of affairs from that and ſome unhappy accidents, which have raiſed great jealouſies and diſſatisfaction among his good ſubjects; and thereby left the crown and government in a condition too weak for thoſe dangers we have reaſon to fear, both at home and abroad.

Theſe, his majeſty hopes, may be yet prevented by a courſe of wiſe and ſteady counſels for the future; and theſe kingdoms grow again to make ſuch a figure as they have formerly done in the world; and as they may always do, if our union and conduct were equal to our force. To this end, he hath reſolved to lay aſide the uſe he may have hitherto made of any ſingle miniſtry or private advices, or foreign committees, for the general direction of his affairs: and to conſtitute ſuch a privy-council, as may not only, by its number, be fit for the conſultation and digeſtion of all buſineſs, both domeſtic and foreign, but alſo by the choice of them, out of the ſeveral parts this State is compoſed of, may be the beſt informed in the true conſtitutions of it, and thereby the moſt able to counſel him in all the affairs and intereſts of this crown and nation. And, by the conſtant advice of ſuch a council, his majeſty is reſolved hereafter to govern his kingdoms; together with the frequent uſe of his great council of parliament, which he takes to be true antient conſtitution of this ſtate and government.

Now, for the greater dignity of this council, his majeſty reſolves their conſtant number ſhall be limited to thirty; and, for their greater authority, there ſhall be fifteen of his chief officers, who ſhall be privy-counſellors by their places; and, for the other fifteen, he will chuſe ten out of the ſeveral ranks of the nobility, and five commoners of the realm, whoſe known abilities, intereſts, and eſteem in the nation, ſhall render them without ſuſpicion of either miſtaking or betraying the true intereſt of the kingdom, and conſequently of adviſing him ill.

In the firſt place, therefore, and to take care of the church, his majeſty will have the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and biſhop of London, for the time being. And, to inform him well in what concerns the laws, the lord chancellor, and one of the lord chief juſtices. For the navy and ſtores (wherein conſiſts the chief ſtrength and ſafety of the kingdom) the admiral

miral and master of the ordnance. For the treasury, the treasurer and chancellor of the exchequer (or whenever any of these charges are in commission, then the first commissioner to serve here in their room :) the rest of the fifteen shall be the lord privy-seal, the master of the horse, lord-steward, and lord chamberlain of his household, the groom of the stole, and the two secretaries of state: and these shall be all the offices of his kingdom to which the dignity of a privy-counsellor shall be annexed. The others his majesty has resolved, and hopes he has not chosen ill. His majesty intends, besides, to have such princes of his blood, as he shall at any time call to this board, being here in court: a president of the council, whenever he shall find it necessary: and the secretary of Scotland, when any such shall be here. But these being uncertain, he reckons not of the constant number of thirty, which shall never be exceeded.

To make way for this new council, his majesty hath now resolved to dissolve this old one; and does hereby dissolve it, and from this time excuses your further attendance here: but with his repeated thanks for your service hitherto, and with the assurance of his satisfaction in you, so far that he should not have parted with you, but to make way for this new constitution, which he takes to be, as to the number and choice, the most proper and necessary for the uses he intends them. And as most of you have offices in his service, and all of you particular shares in his favour and good opinion, so he desires you will continue to exercise and deserve them, with the same diligence and good affections that you have hitherto done; and with confidence of his majesty's kindness to you, and of those testimonies you shall receive of it upon other occasions.

Therefore upon the present dissolution of this council, his majesty appoints and commands all those officers he hath named, to attend him here to-morrow, at nine in the morning, as his privy-council; together with those other persons he designs to make up the number, and to each of whom he has already signed particular letters to that purpose; and commands the lord chancellor to see them issued out accordingly; which is the form he intends to use, and that hereafter they shall be signed in council, so that nothing may be done unadvisedly in the choice of any person to a charge of so great dignity and importance to the kingdom.

And,

And, in purſuance thereof, his majeſty did this day declare, that he had made choice of the ſeveral perſons hereafter named, to be of his privy-council.

HIS highneſs prince Rupert.
Dr. William Sancroft lord archbiſhop of Canterbury.
Heneage lord Finch, lord chancellor of England.
Anthony earl of Shafteſbury, lord preſident of the council.
Arthur Earl of Angleſea, lord privy ſeal.
Chriſtopher duke of Albemarle.
James duke of Monmouth, maſter of the horſe.
Henry duke of Newcaſtle.
John duke of Lauderdale, ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland.
James duke of Ormond, lord ſteward of the houſhold.
Charles lord marquis of Wincheſter.
Henry lord marquis of Worceſter.
Henry earl of Arlington, lord chamberlain of the houſhold.
James earl of Saliſbury.
John earl of Bridgewater.
Robert earl of Sunderland, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate,
Arthur earl of Eſſex, firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury.
John earl of Bath, groom of the ſtole.
Thomas lord viſcount Falconberg.
George lord viſcount Hallifax.
Henry lord biſhop of London.
John lord Roberts.
Denzil lord Hollis.
William lord Ruſſel.
William lord Cavendiſh.
Henry Coventry Eſq; one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.
Sir Francis North, Kt. lord chief-juſtice of the common pleas.
Sir Henry Capell, Knight of the Bath, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty.
Sir John Ernley, Kt. chancellor of the exchequer.
Sir Thomas Chicheley, Kt. maſter of the ordnance.
Sir William Temple, Baronet.
Edward Seymour, Eſq;
Henry Powle, Eſq;

And

And his majeſty commanded ſuch of them as were then preſent to be ſworn, and to take their places at the board accordingly.

The right honourable Anthony Earl of Shafteſbury, who was, by his majeſty's ſpecial command ſworn lord preſident of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council, took his place at the board accordingly.

His MAJESTY was this day alſo pleaſed to declare, that he intended to make

Sir Henry Capell, Knight of the Bath.
Daniel Finch, Eſq;
Sir Thomas Lee, Baronet,
Sir Humphry Winch, Baronet,
Sir Thomas Meers, Baronet,
Edward Vaughan, Eſq;
Edward Hales, Eſq;

Commiſſioners for the execution of the office of lord high-admiral of England, who ſhall only attend that buſineſs.

His majeſty was alſo pleaſed to declare, that he would have all his affairs here debated freely, of what kind ſoever they were; and therefore abſolute ſecrecy.

His majeſty was alſo pleaſed to declare, that he would communicate this alteration of the council unto both houſes of parliament in a few words.

THE

THE expedients mentioned by the author in page 513, and ſome other parts of theſe memoirs, met no ſucceſs in the houſe of commons; who, upon the bill of excluſion being thrown out by the lords, had ſeveral other expedients offered them, by ſome of their own members, but could not fix upon any that were thought ſufficient. One expedient was, to have a bill brought in for the aſſociation of all his majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects: another was, a bill for the baniſhment of all conſiderable papiſts out of England: a third, for ſecuring frequent parliaments. It was likewiſe propoſed, that the prince of Orange ſhould be joined in the adminiſtration with the duke, upon his coming to the crown; with ſeveral other ſchemes, which all proved abortive: ſo that the houſe of commons began to re-aſſume the thoughts of the bill of excluſion; to which end they preſented an addreſs, December 15th 1680. The king's meſſage, in anſwer to the addreſs, January 4th 1680-81, was that which the author was commanded to carry to the houſe, as he tells us, page 536. And, becauſe it may give the reader ſome light into the affairs and diſpoſitions of thoſe times, the addreſs and the king's anſwer are here ſubjoined.

The

## The humble ADDRESS of the House of Commons, presented to his Majesty, in answer to his Majesty's most gracious speech to both houses of parliament, upon the fifteenth day of December 1680.

May it please your most excellent majesty,

WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons in this present parliament assembled, have taken into our serious consideration your majesty's gracious speech to both your houses of parliament on the fifteenth of this instant December; and do, with all the grateful sense of faithful subjects, and sincere protestants, acknowledge your majesty's great goodness to us, in renewing the assurances you have been pleased to give us of your readiness to concur with us in any means for the security of the protestant religion, and your gracious invitation of us to make our desires known to your majesty.

But, with grief of heart, we cannot but observe, that to these princely offers your majesty has been advised (by what secret enemies to your majesty, and your people, we know not) to annex a reservation, which, if insisted on in the instance to which alone it is applicable, will render all your majesty's other gracious inclinations of no effect or advantage to us. Your majesty is pleased thus to limit your promise of concurrence in the remedies which shall be proposed, that they may consist with preserving the succession of the crown in its due and legal course of descent: and we do humbly inform your majesty, that no interruption of that descent has been endeavoured by us, except only the descent upon the person of the duke of York, who, by the wicked instruments of the church

of

of Rome, has been manifeſtly perverted to their religion. And we do humbly repreſent to your majeſty, as the iſſue of our moſt deliberate thoughts and conſultations, that for the papiſts to have their hopes continued, that a prince of that religion ſhall ſucceed in the throne of theſe kingdoms, is utterly inconſiſtent with the ſafety of your majeſty's perſon, the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, and the proſperity, peace, and welfare of your proteſtant ſubjects.

That your majeſty's ſacred life is in continual danger, under the proſpect of a popiſh ſucceſſor, is evident, not only from the principles of thoſe devoted to the church of Rome, which allow that an heretical prince (and ſuch they term all proteſtant princes) excommunicated and depoſed by the pope, may be deſtroyed and murdered; but alſo from the teſtimonies given, in the proſecution of the horrid popiſh plot, againſt divers traitors attainted for deſigning to put thoſe horrid principles into practice againſt your majeſty.

From the expectation of this ſucceſſion, has the number of papiſts in your majeſty's dominions ſo much increaſed, within theſe few years, and ſo many been prevailed with to deſert the true proteſtant religion, that they might be prepared for the favours of a popiſh prince, as ſoon as he ſhould come to the poſſeſſion of the crown: and while the ſame expectation laſts, many more will be in the ſame danger of being perverted.

This it is that has hardened the papiſts of this kingdom, animated and confederated by their prieſts and jeſuits, to make a common purſe, provide arms, make application to foreign princes, and ſolicit their aid, for impoſing popery upon us; and all this even during your majeſty's reign, and while your majeſty's government and the laws were our protection.

It

It is your majesty's glory and true interest, to be the head and protector of all protestants, as well abroad as at home; but, if these hopes remain, what alliances can be made for the advantage of the protestant religion and interest, which shall give confidence to your majesty's allies to join so vigorously with your majesty, as the state of that interest in the world now requires, while they see this protestant kingdom in so much danger of a popish successor; by whom, at the present, all their counsels and actions may be eluded, as hitherto they have been, and by whom (if he should succeed) they are sure to be destroyed?

We have thus humbly laid before your majesty some of those great dangers and mischiefs which evidently accompany the expectation of a popish successor: the certain and unspeakable evils which will come upon your majesty's protestant subjects and their posterity, if such a prince should inherit, are more also than we can well enumerate.

Our religion, which is now so dangerously shaken, will then be totally overthrown; nothing will be left, or can be found, to protect or defend it.

The execution of old laws must cease, and it will be in vain to expect new ones. The most sacred obligations of contracts and promises (if any should be given) that shall be judged to be against the interest of the Romish religion, will be violated; as is undeniable, not only from argument and experience elsewhere, but from the sad experience this nation once had on the like occasion.

In the reign of such a prince the pope will be acknowledged supreme (though the subjects of this kingdom have sworn the contrary) and all causes, either as spiritual, or in order to spiritual things, will be brought under his jurisdiction.

The lives, liberties, and estates of all such protestants, as value their souls and their religion more

than their ſecular concernments, will be adjudged forfeited.

To all this we might add, that it appears, in the diſcovery of the plot, that foreign princes were invited to aſſiſt in ſecuring the crown to the duke of York; with arguments from his great zeal to eſtabliſh popery, and to extirpate proteſtants (whom they call hereticks) out of his dominions; and ſuch will expect performance accordingly.

We further humbly beſeech your majeſty, in your great wiſdom, to conſider, whether, in caſe the Imperial crown of this proteſtant kingdom ſhould deſcend to the duke of York, the oppoſition which may poſſibly be made to his poſſeſſing it, may not only endanger the farther deſcent in the royal line, but even monarchy itſelf.

For theſe reaſons, we are moſt humble petitioners to your moſt ſacred majeſty, that, in tender commiſeration of your poor proteſtant people, your majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to depart from the reſervation in your ſaid ſpeech; and, when a bill ſhall be tendered to your majeſty, in a parliamentary way, to diſable the duke of York from inheriting the crown, your majeſty will give your royal aſſent thereto; and, as neceſſary to fortify and defend the ſame, that your majeſty will likewiſe be graciouſly pleaſed to aſſent to an act, whereby your majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects may be enabled to aſſociate themſelves for the defence of your majeſty's perſon, the proteſtant religion, and the ſecurity of your kingdoms.

Theſe requeſts we are conſtrained humbly to make to your majeſty, as of abſolute neceſſity, for the ſafe and peaceable enjoyment of our religion.

Without theſe things, the alliances of England will not be valuable, nor the people encouraged to contribute to your majeſty's ſervice.

As

As ſome further means for the preſervation both of our religion and property, we are humble ſuiters to your majeſty, that from henceforth ſuch perſons only may be judges within the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, as are men of ability, integrity, and known affection to the proteſtant religion; and that they may hold both their offices and ſalaries *Quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint:* That ſeveral deputy-lieutenants and juſtices of the peace, fitly qualified for thoſe employments, having been of late diſplaced, and others put in their room who are men of arbitrary principles, and countenancers of papiſts and popery) ſuch only may bear the office of a lord-lieutenant as are perſons of integrity and known affection to the proteſtant religion: That deputy-lieutenants and juſtices of the peace may be alſo ſo qualified, and may be moreover men of ability, of eſtates, and intereſt in their country:

That none may be employed as military officers, or officers in your majeſty's fleet, but men of known experience, courage, and affection to the proteſtant religion.

Theſe our humble requeſts being obtained, we ſhall, on our part, be ready to aſſiſt your majeſty for the preſervation of Tangier, and for putting your majeſty's fleet into ſuch a condition, as it may preſerve your majeſty's ſovereignty of the ſeas, and be for the defence of the nation.

If your majeſty hath, or ſhall make any neceſſary alliances, for defence of the proteſtant religion, and intereſt and ſecurity of this kingdom, this houſe will be ready to aſſiſt, and ſtand by your majeſty, in the ſupport of the ſame.

After this our humble anſwer to your majeſty's gracious ſpeech, we hope no evil inſtruments whatſoever ſhall be able to leſſen your majeſty's eſteem of that fidelity and affection we bear to your majeſty's

ſervice; but that your majeſty will always retain, in your royal breaſt, that favourable opinion of us your loyal commons; that thoſe other good bills, which we have now under conſideration, conducing to the great ends we have before mentioned; as alſo all laws for the benefit and comfort of your people, which ſhall, from time to time, be tendered for your majeſty's royal aſſent, ſhall find acceptance with your majeſty.

## His MAJESTY's gracious meſſage to the commons in parliament, January 4. $16\frac{80}{81}$.

CHARLES R.

HIS majeſty received the addreſs of this houſe with all the diſpoſition they could wiſh to comply with their reaſonable deſires; but, upon peruſing it, he is ſorry to ſee their thoughts ſo wholly fixed upon the bill of excluſion, as to determine that all other remedies for the ſuppreſſing of popery will be ineffectual. His majeſty is confirmed in his opinion againſt that bill by the judgment of the houſe of lords, who rejected it. He therefore thinks there remains nothing more for him to ſay, in anſwer to the addreſs of this houſe, but to recommend to them the conſideration of all other means for the preſervation of the proteſtant religion; in which they have no reaſon to doubt of his concurrence, whenever they ſhall be preſented to him in a parliamentary way: and that they would conſider the preſent ſtate of the kingdom, as well as the condition of Chriſtendom, in ſuch a manner, as may enable him to preſerve Tangier, and ſecure his alliances abroad, and the peace and ſettlement at home.

But this anſwer of the king's was ſo far from giving ſatisfaction, that the ſame day it was read in the houſe, after long debate, and a deſpair of any effectual expedients, the commons came to the following reſolutions.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this houſe, that there is no ſecurity nor ſafety for the proteſtant religion, the king's life, or government of this nation, without paſſing a bill for diſabling James duke of York to inherit the Imperial crown of this realm, and dominions and territories thereunto belonging; and to rely upon any other means and remedies, without ſuch a bill, is not only inſufficient, but dangerous.

Reſolved, That his majeſty in his laſt meſſage having aſſured this houſe of his readineſs to concur in all other means for the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, this houſe doth declare, That, until a bill be likewiſe paſſed for excluding the duke of York, this houſe cannot give any ſupply to his majeſty, without danger to his majeſty's perſon, extreme hazard of the proteſtant religion, and unfaithfulneſs to thoſe by whom this houſe is intruſted.

Theſe reſolutions were followed by votes of addreſſes againſt ſeveral perſons; and, the heats ſtill increaſing in the houſe of commons, the king, three days after, prorogued the parliament, and the next week diſſolved it by proclamation.

Page 532. Sir William Jones was reputed one of the beſt ſpeakers in the houſe, and was very zealous in his endeavours for promoting the bill of excluſion. He was a perſon of great piety and virtue, and, having taken an affection to Sir William Temple, was ſorry to ſee him employed in the delivery of ſo unacceptable a meſſage to the houſe: the ſubſtance of what he ſaid to the author upon it was this: that "for himſelf he was "old and infirm, and expected to die ſoon: but you, "ſaid he, will in all probability live to ſee the whole "kingdom lament the conſequences of this meſſage "you have now brought us from the king."

Page 536, What the author ſpoke in the houſe does not only relate to the buſineſs of Tangier, but like-

likewiſe to the bill of excluſion, which was then newly thrown out by the lords. I ſhewed the ſpeech to the author, who, as far as his memory could ſerve him, allowed it to be fairly taken. I think it very worthy of the author, though it appears to have been wholly unpremeditate. And ſince part of it relates to ſome paſſages in the Memoirs, it may be convenient to inſert it here.

Mr. SPEAKER,

THIS debate hath more of weight in it, than the buſineſs of Tangier. I think, as affairs now ſtand, the moſt part of Chriſtendom is concerned in it, I am ſure all the proteſtants: and therefore, I hope, your patience will hold out, to have the whole circumſtances of it fairly examined: for the arguments that have been offered, in the conſideration of this meſſage, have enlarged the debate further than was at firſt intended, and have brought the whole ſtate of the nation, in ſome meaſure, before you, inſtead of that one particular buſineſs of Tangier; ſo that now what reſolve you make will be a diſcovery of your inclinations, not only as to what you intend to do as to a ſupply for Tangier, but as to giving money for alliances and all other occaſions; upon which reſult the good or bad ſucceſs of this parliament doth depend. As to Tangier, I do agree with that worthy member that ſpoke before (though many are of a different opinion) that it is not of any great uſe to us, upon the account of any advantage we ſhall make by it. But however, I think it is very well worth our keeping, becauſe of the diſadvantages we ſhould receive by it, if it ſhould fall into the hands either of the Turk, or Spaniard, but eſpecially the French, who will not only be thereby enabled to fetter us as to our trade in the Levant, but to curb alſo all other nations whatſoever; and be ſuch an addition to the too great power

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he hath acquired both by sea and land already, that I am of opinion we ought to be very cautious how we weaken the security we now have, that it shall not fall into his hands. But if the mole and the town could be blown into the air, or otherwise reduced into its first chaos, I think, considering the charge it will cost keeping, England would not be much the worse for it; but to move you to consider any thing about that, at this time, cannot be proper, because the Moors have so besieged it, that the first thing that must be done, whether in order to keep it or destroy it, is, to beat them off, by some speedy supplies which must be presently sent; or else the town, according to the best information come from thence, is like to be lost. And, Sir, I think this single consideration may be persuasive to move you to give some such supply as may be precisely necessary for the defence and protection of this place. A small sum of money, in comparison of what this house hath formerly given, may be sufficient to satisfy his majesty's expectation, and secure the place too. But I must confess, Sir, it is not the consideration of Tangier that makes me press you to it; but the deplorable state of the protestants abroad. Sir, I have had the honour to serve his majesty in some publick employments, and by that means may be a little more sensible of the state of affairs, in reference to our neighbours, than others may be; having not only had the advantage of information, but was under a necessity of using my best endeavours to get a true account of them. Sir, I am confident the eyes of all Europe are upon this parliament; and not only the protestants abroad, but many catholick countries (who stand in fear of the power of France) do think themselves as much concerned in the success of this parliament, as this house; and will be as much perplexed to hear any ill news thereof. This, Sir, as well as the necessities of our affairs at home, make me trouble you at this time, to desire

you

you to be careful what you do, that we may not occaſion in his majeſty any diſlike to this houſe. Whatever you do as to the buſineſs of money for Tangier, I pray, Sir, let there be no notice taken in your addreſs, of the lords having caſt out your bill; for we have no reaſon to think the king was any ways concerned therein. To throw out a bill of ſo great importance, without a conference, was, in my humble opinion, very ſtrange and contrary to the uſual proceedings of that houſe. But, pray, Sir, let it lie at their doors that did it; for the king could not be concerned in a parliamentary way. For by this means we may obviate all miſunderſtandings with his majeſty about this affair; and, I hope, create in him a good opinion of this houſe, upon which the welfare, not only of this nation, but of Europe, doth much depend.

Sir, his majeſty, in his meſſage, puts you in mind of giving advice, as well as money; I think, if we make that expreſſion the ground of our addreſs, we may naturally graft very good things thereon, eſpecially what may conduce to the preſervation of a fair correſpondence, Sir, though a king alone cannot ſave a kingdom, yet a king alone can do very much to ruin it; and, though parliaments alone cannot ſave this kingdom, yet parliaments alone may do much to ruin it: And therefore we cannot be too circumſpect in what we do. It is our fortune to ſit here in a critical time, when not only the affairs of this nation, but the proteſtant religion abroad, need our continuance; and, for the ſame reaſon, we may juſtly fear that there are thoſe who endeavour to contrive the putting off this parliament. I pray, Sir, let us not give them any advantage; and then I doubt not but his majeſty's care and goodneſs will at laſt overcome all difficulties, and bring this ſeſſion to a happy concluſion.

*The End of the Second Volume.*